

# IN THESE TIMES

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Selling the Sixties  
pages 13-16

## THE SCRAMBLE FOR NEW VOTERS

Will Republicans outregister Democrats? Joan Walsh, page 8





# Autoworkers strike to save jobs at GM

By David Moberg

The deep recession of 1979 to 1982 devastated the auto industry, sending a quarter million auto workers—and many more related workers—to the unemployment lines. Now auto sales are returning to pre-slump levels and auto company profits are breaking records—\$6.2 billion for last year and even more than that, \$6.5 billion, for just the first six months of 1984. But there are still 170,000 fewer hourly production jobs at U.S. auto companies.

More ominously, even if there is not another deep nosedive of the economy and sales of autos and trucks stay healthy, jobs will vanish at an accelerating clip unless significant changes are made. That is the main reason the UAW struck General Motors on September 14 when the old contract expired.

During times of massive job displacement, most U.S. unions have either counted on a growing economy to absorb workers or have at best tried to protect the incomes or jobs of some of the most senior workers—as happened in the printing trades and West Coast dock work, for example. The UAW is apparently trying to

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break new ground. Although in the last contract the union won some increased income protection, job retraining, rehiring agreements and pilot projects for job guarantees, there were flaws in those provisions that it would like to correct. Protection should be extended to workers with lower seniority; workers should not be forced to relocate at great distance from their homes, especially without security in their jobs; job guarantees must be long-term, not just the length of a contract. GM is reportedly willing to make some improvements in these protections but less than the union wanted.

The company and the union were farther apart, however, on the more crucial, innovative issue: where will future jobs be? Last year U.S. companies sold about 100,000 cars made by Japanese firms while producing 6.8 million themselves. But by 1987 the U.S. firms will market an estimated 975,000 imported cars, according to the UAW. GM alone plans to bring in some 500,000 foreign-made small cars by 1987. Korea, Mexico and other countries are joining Japan as major sources of completed autos to be sold under GM, Ford and Chrysler labels. Equally serious, there is a growing flood of components—engines, transmissions, electronic devices and other parts—coming from subsidiaries of U.S. companies or other suppliers.

U.S. companies are turning to joint ventures, overseas investment and purchase agreements to provide small cars rather than attempt to design and build a competitive small car domestically. If the Voluntary Restraint Agreement (VRA) with Japan is not renewed when it expires on March 31 next year, many auto experts expect that imports could surge from about 23 percent (18.9 percent for the Japanese) this year to 40 percent next year and more in years to come. A 10 percent increase would eliminate 200,000 U.S. auto and supplier jobs.

The UAW is also plagued with growing auto company reliance on subcontractors and suppliers in the U.S., many of them low-paid and non-union. This aspect of "outsourcing" undercuts the union as well as workers' job security and living standards. And that isn't all. Even though thousands of former auto workers are now out of work, the companies have been scheduling lots of overtime, which is cheaper for them than hiring another worker. Not counting overtime, the average U.S. auto worker puts in nearly 60 hours more time each year than his or her European counterpart. But the UAW's tentative steps to reduce worktime—the Paid Personal Holidays—were dropped in the last contract as part of the concession package. Finally, the growing impact of robots and computerization will take an even greater toll. According to company documents leaked earlier this year, GM hopes by 1986 to cut 120,000 of its 355,000 hourly production workers by increasing the productivity of those who remain.

If the UAW can win no significant job security victories and there is neither the VRA nor domestic content legislation—which would force major U.S. and foreign companies to manufacture here in proportion to their sales—the UAW estimates that more than one million auto and related jobs will be lost between now and 1990 (a decline to 1.873 million from a peak of 3.377 million in 1978).

No matter what the union does, the workforce is likely to shrink, and aid for displaced workers will be essential. But the union hopes to stanch the hemorrhage of U.S. jobs by negotiating a collective bargaining equivalent of the domestic content requirement. As an alternative it may ask GM to set limits to "captive imports" (foreign-manufactured cars sold under U.S. labels). The union also wants to restrict outsourcing of parts to foreign or non-union U.S. companies.

Such controls on corporate decisions would be a novel and important breakthrough if they could be enforced. But the

Canadian leadership of the union, which in the past had a more militant anti-concession stance than the U.S. leaders of the UAW, doubts such controls would do any good. They are emphasizing reductions in worktime as a way of spreading the work. U.S. union bargainers have proposed worktime and overtime restraints, but those are being downplayed. Improved pensions, popular with many workers, might encourage some earlier retirement, saving some jobs for younger auto workers.

Much of the squabble over money may focus on union efforts to make pay hikes part of the base wage and management attempts to pay in the form of bonuses, profit-sharing and other devices that don't boost cost of other benefits and that are tied to company profitability. But the UAW is emphasizing jobs more than money, even though it expects pay and benefits improvements, especially given the high profits and executive bonuses recently after years of union concessions.

Politically, the emphasis on jobs works to the advantage of the union as well. A union-commissioned survey showed 84 percent of respondents opposed U.S. companies shifting production of small cars to Japan and Korea even if foreign production meant lower car prices. When the union's bargaining position was described, 34 percent were very positive and 48 percent somewhat positive. Overwhelmingly, the most popular part of the union's proposals was keeping jobs in the U.S.

The survey also showed that 48 percent of respondents thought auto workers were underpaid or paid about right, and 40 percent thought they were overpaid. Given the pervasive negative publicity about highly paid autoworkers, the response is surprisingly favorable to the workers. It is also reinforced by a recent study from the University of Michigan Joint U.S.-Japan Automotive Study. It concluded that the widely reported \$1,500 per car cost advantage of the Japanese over U.S. autos was based on faulty data and was exaggerated. U.S. companies, several other studies argue, could narrow the gap with Japanese cars if they spent less on product differentiation (eliminating half of the Japanese advantage), improved design to cut warranty expenses (now \$200-\$350 per U.S. car and less than \$50 per Japanese car), and reduced executive and white-collar overhead, which is much higher in the U.S. Reduced U.S. layoffs of hourly workers also cut the company's labor cost per hour, since the cost of benefits such as pensions are spread over a broader base of workers. If U.S. companies shift small car production overseas, they may lose a technological edge that will hurt all domestic auto production.

The companies have argued that job security only comes with victory in the marketplace, and that must be won with lower labor costs. The union recognizes that cars must be sold for there to be jobs, but it also realizes that corporate success does not guarantee employment. Costs of production can also be reduced without slashing workers' wages, but restrictions on outsourcing—however much they may prove to the long-term advantage of the industry—do eliminate one quick and dirty way to cut costs, thereby intensifying competitive pressures on the U.S. companies.

The UAW is hoping to maintain a cool bargaining climate despite the strike. Calling strikes supposedly over local issues at 13 locations permitted the union to make its point without draining the strike fund. Most workers laid off as a result of the spreading effects of the strike will be able to get unemployment benefits. Strikers came mainly from militant locals where popular models in short supply were produced, increasing the pressure on the company—losing an estimated 60 percent of its profits with less than 20 percent of workers on strike—even if it can make up losses later. Such a strategy, dubbed "Apache strikes" when proposed in 1973, has never been used as extensively by the UAW, but it shows a willingness to experiment that may bolster labor's arsenal. If the UAW wins significant breakthroughs, other unions will be encouraged to try new ways to gain worker security and a voice in corporate decisions. In the long run, that ripple effect may be as important as any gains the auto workers make for themselves.



## New additions

With this issue, Salim Muwakkil replaces Linda Rabben as *In These Times*' culture editor. Salim has a diverse journalism background that started as a contributor to the *Black Panther* paper in 1969. Since then, he has worked as a writer for Associated Press in the early '70s and was news editor of *Muhammed Speaks* from 1974 to 1977. He has been a freelance writer in Chicago for the past seven years, writing regularly for the *Chicago Reader* and other publications.

And on the business side, Cynthia Diaz has joined our staff as advertising manager, replacing Debbie Greiff (who has moved upstairs to join our former art director Dolores Wilber). Cynthia has a background in media communications and research in Chicago and as a producer and writer on a Southwest Michigan radio station.



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## IN THESE TIMES

# Reagan vs. Thomas Jefferson

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

*This is the first of a two-part series on politics and religion.*

**I**N RETROSPECT, THE MOST SIGNIFICANT speech at last month's Republican convention was not President Reagan's keynote address, but his speech that same morning to an Ecumenical Prayer Breakfast. In the August 23 speech, Reagan accused the school prayer opponents of being "intolerant of religion."

Reagan's speech has sparked a furious debate about the relationship of church to state, which has overshadowed the seemingly more pressing concerns of the economy and U.S.-Soviet relations.

On one level, Reagan's speech was a purely political gesture. Reagan has always followed the classic strategy of consolidating his base before moving to the center. In August 1980, speaking before the Religious Roundtable in Dallas, Reagan declared his dissatisfaction with the theory of evolution and his conviction that the Bible contained the answers to "all the complex and horrendous questions confronting us at home and worldwide." A month later he was praising the Chrysler bailout and promising negotiations with the Soviet Union.

In 1984, Reagan has followed the same route. When he and Mondale spoke at B'nai Brith's convention in Washington on September 6, he backed away from the implications of his Dallas speech. Echoing Thomas Jefferson's statement that the First Amendment built "a wall of separation between church and state," Reagan averred that "the unique thing about America is a wall in our Constitution separating church and state."

But Reagan's Dallas speech deserves closer scrutiny. While his 1980 address may have signified either base opportunism or a loose screw, his speech this year contains intimations of a broader philosophy of government.

## Reagan and Burke.

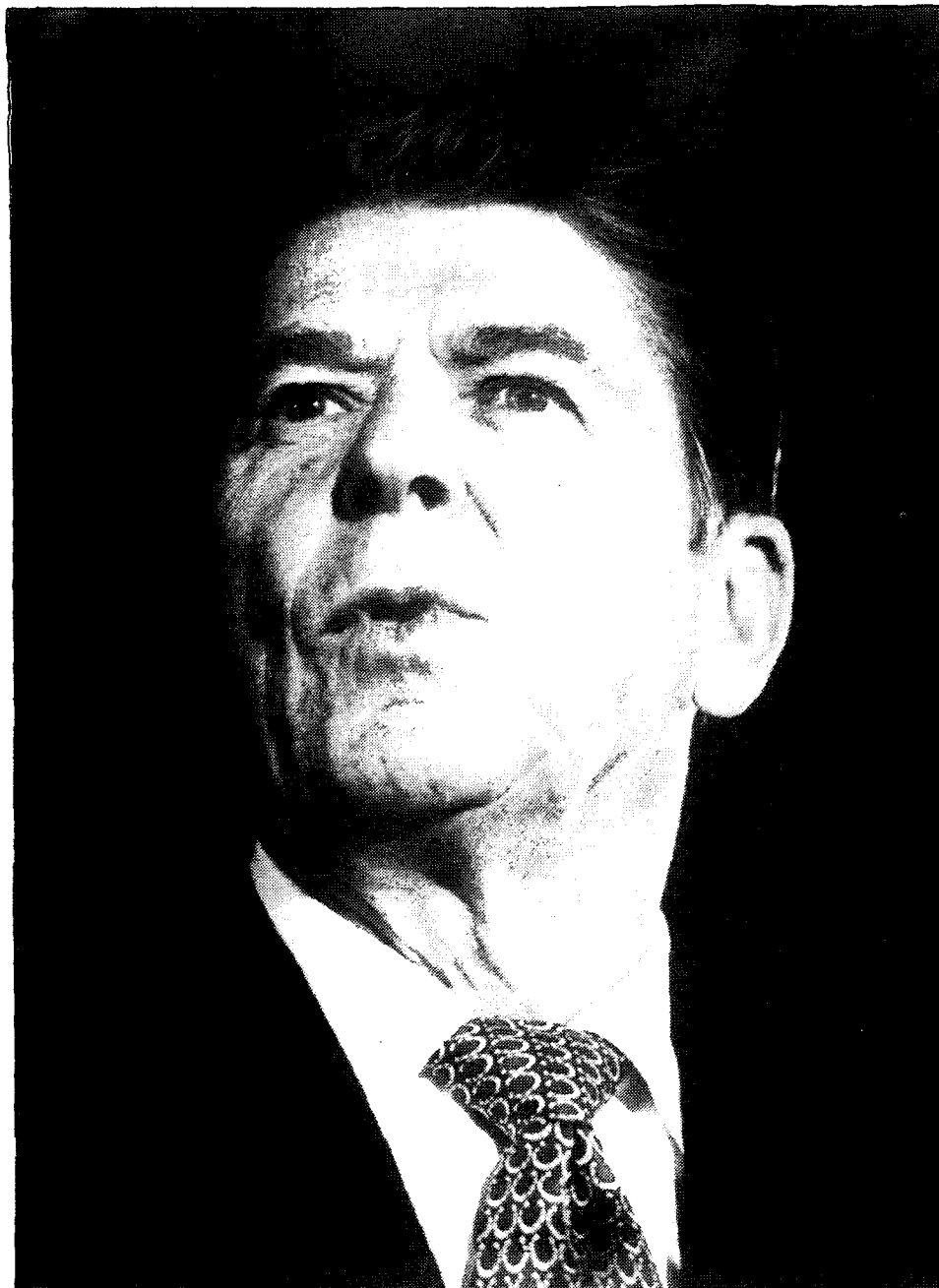
Some of Reagan's speech emphasized the obvious. Few Americans would deny that "faith and religion play a central role in the political life of our nation and always have." One need only look at the final contestants for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Parts of Reagan's speech were also partisan distortion and demagoguery—to be expected at a convention. In suggesting that Supreme Court rulings on school prayer forbade students from studying "together all of the many religions in our country," Reagan conveniently ignored that the texts of those rulings explicitly commended the comparative study of religions.

But the heart of Reagan's Dallas speech was his view or views on the relationship of politics to religion. Two theories vie for supremacy in Reagan's speech, one drawn from British philosopher Edmund Burke and his modern American interpreters and the other drawn from John Calvin and his modern American interpreters.

A word about Burke. Burke was a supporter of the American Revolution, but drew a sharp distinction between it and the French Revolution. He was horrified by the Enlightenment *philosophes'* egalitarianism and elevation of reason to a pre-eminence previously enjoyed by religion and tradition. He saw in the Jacobins' Reign of Terror the confirmation of his views.

Burke was not a theocrat, but he believed that religion, with its emphasis on order, authority and human fallibility, was an important brake upon the rationalist and levelling tendencies of the Enlightenment. He saw religion as a part of



the accumulated wisdom of tradition and custom.

In the U.S., Burke's position was taken by the Federalist opponents of the French Revolution—chief among them, Alexander Hamilton. Reagan's speech in Dallas drew upon the early Burkeans to establish religion's historical place in American politics. Reagan told the fundamentalists:

*George Washington referred to religion's profound and unsurpassed place in the heart of our nation quite directly in his Farewell Address of 1796 [supposedly written by Hamilton]. Seven years earlier, France had erected a government that was intended to be purely secular. This new government would be grounded on reason rather than the law of God.... And Washington voiced reservations about the idea that there could be wise policy without a firm moral and religious foundation.*

Modern American Burkeans, inspired by Russell Kirk's seminal *The Conservative Mind* (1953), have viewed the Russian Revolution, the rise of European fascism and Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal—indeed, modern liberalism itself—as legacies of the French Revolution. Conservatives claim that, like the French Revolution, these developments rested upon the assumption that human beings can use government as a rational instrument of self-perfection.

According to conservatives, the Christian religion undermines this liberal/socialist/communist/fascist view. As Reagan put it in Dallas:

*We need religion as a guide; we need it because we are imperfect. And our government needs the church because only those humble enough to admit they are sinners can bring to democracy the tolerance it requires to survive.*

Like Burke, Reagan sees religion as a foundation of morality and therefore politics. "Politics and morality are inseparable," Reagan said in Dallas. "And as morality's foundation is religion, religion and politics are necessarily related."

In this sense, Reagan's view is no more theocratic than Burke's was. Reagan believes in the separation of church and state, but it is a separation as understood by Burke's American followers and not by Jefferson or James Madison and their modern followers.

## Constitutional debate.

Jefferson and Madison were deists who believed that God's role was merely that of initial creator, partisans of the Enlightenment and supporters of the French Revolution. They advocated the strict demarcation of religion and the state. In Virginia, prior to the American Constitution, they had championed a state constitution forbidding any state aid to religion. There is some indication that Madison regarded the First Amendment, forbidding Congress from making any "law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof" as a compromise measure in so far as it merely banned a national religion.

While Burke and his American followers saw religion as a useful preservative of class and order, Madison and Jefferson saw it as the progenitor of holy war. "Torrents of blood have been spilt in the Old World by the vain attempt of the secular arm to extinguish religious discord," Madison wrote in 1785.

Beginning in 1948 with *McCullum v. Board of Education*, the Supreme Court affirmed Jefferson and Madison's view of church and state. By combining the First Amendment with the Fourteenth Amendment, which forbade states to deprive citizens of their liberties, the Court ruled that states and school districts would also have to abide by the First Amendment's prohibition on established religion.

In 1949, Catholic theologian John Courtney Murray argued the Burkean case against the Supreme Court's ruling in *McCullum*. Murray maintained that the First Amendment had not been meant

*Continued on page 5*



## IN SHORT

## Have gun, will swagger

High noon on November 6: a shootout between Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale on the floor of the Capitol rotunda. A definitive, no-nonsense way to determine what seems to be shaping up as a major campaign issue for the male gender: who's the real man? According to new polls summarized by a recent *New York Times* article, young white males are leaning heavily toward the Republicans for perhaps the first time since Ike. In fact, the widest gap between the sexes is in the 18-to-29-year-old group. An age once ripe for social idealism, today's young men are more intrigued by Ronnie's purported power. Says one self-proclaimed young urban professional, "at work the guys stick to Reagan primarily because they see the race as women versus men, with Reagan standing for the values of men."

But not so fast, buddy. Nobody can get away with calling Fritz Mondale a sissy. Rushing to defend Mondale's tarnished image, campaign advisor Robert Strauss set the record straight in the *Times*: "Mondale is a sort of a man's man. He likes to do the things that we associate with male, what do you call it, macho. He's a fisherman. He likes to sit around and have a drink with his shoes off and a cigar in his mouth with his friends. He's a hunter..." But is he really man enough? Another Democratic observer shoots straight from the hip: "Men like Reagan's swagger. They'd like to have that swagger themselves." And even David Garth, a Democratic media consultant, thinks Reagan's tough act is a tough act to follow. After all, says Garth, he "took a bullet in the chest and survived, and all of America saw it. That was a very macho thing." So, back to the shootout: either way, Fritz can't lose, right?

## Say it ain't so, Annie

Maybe you've seen the series of eight informative ads put out by the U.S. Committee for Energy Awareness. Usually hogging two pages in the glossier magazines, the series starts out slow and subtle ("The Electrical Age: Rebirth or Retreat") and builds to make a point ("Radiation: Facing Fear with Facts" and "Nuclear Waste Disposal: Scientists Have an Answer"). Though the ads seem to put a premium on reasoned objectivity, the Safe Energy Communication Council (SECC) says it's all style and no substance. So they commissioned a scientist from one of their member organizations—James MacKenzie from the Union of Concerned Scientists—to add some facts to the picture. In his 21-page critique, MacKenzie concludes that "reading and accepting the ads' message at face value would create a serious misunderstanding of national energy issues and the problems affecting nuclear power." Another CEA presentation that's got the SECC up in arms: the infamous "Annie" ads intending to portray solar energy supporters as dreamy-eyed fools. With "Annie's theme" in the background ("The sun will come out tomorrow, so you've got to hang onto tomorrow") the narrator informs us that solar energy won't be practical until "some day in the future," so let's quit hesitating about nuclear power.

Who are these CEA people, anyway? Though they sound public-minded and government-like, they're actually a private group of electric utilities, construction companies and equipment manufacturers. And the money for their \$25 million ad blitz may not have all come from their own pockets. The SECC has uncovered that ratepayers in Virginia, West Virginia and North Carolina are being charged for the ads. For a copy of the MacKenzie critique or an "Annie" Response Packet, write SECC, 1609 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20009.

## Yale decides this week

A final showdown is expected this week in the 16-month-old battle between the Yale University and its 1,800-member clerical and technical workers union over a first contract. By a 10-to-one margin, Local 34 of the Federation of University Employees has voted to walk out September 26 unless a settlement is reached or Yale's administration agrees to submit the remaining issues—including key economic provisions—to binding arbitration. The University's 1,000 blue-collar workers vowed to honor their colleagues' picket lines, meaning a strike could effectively cripple Yale. Local 34 narrowly won the right to represent Yale's 2,650 "pink collar" workers—80 percent of them female—in May 1983. By last March, dozens of negotiating sessions had failed to produce a first contract. Negotiators averted a threatened strike by coming up with a three-year partial contract that provided for continued bargaining on wages and benefits and allowed Local 34 the right to strike.

## Well-heeled in Texas

Democratic voter registration may not have the Republicans running scared (see story on page 8), but it has caught a few stumbling off the path of democratic participation. According to the *Texas Observer*, Dianna Denman, the vice chair of the Texas Republican Party, spoke disapprovingly of voter registration drives aimed at the Hispanic vote. She contrasted these efforts with the Republicans, who are registering the "right kind of people who are going out and going to work and support the future of America." The drives of groups like the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project will only put people "under the heel of the boot" of the Democratic Party.

—Beth Maschinot



## Amtrak uses discipline to discriminate

WASHINGTON—The horror stories flew thick and fast September 13 here when the House Subcommittee on Government Operations and Transportation heard sworn testimony on labor abuses by Amtrak, the federally-subsidized passenger railroad.

More than 150 Amtrak workers gasped, grumbled and sometimes couldn't help but applaud as the hearing, chaired by Rep. Cardiss Collins (D-IL), confirmed for the public record what the Amtrak grapevine has been saying for almost two years: the company's disciplinary appeals process was rigged, enabling some managers to use heavy-handed discipline to cover up their own mistakes, to intimidate union leaders and outspoken workers and to discriminate against blacks, women and older workers. A subtheme of the hearing was that women cannot be trusted to hang tough in a cover-up; the most damaging testimony came from three Chicago women managers who informed on their male supervisors.

Throughout the five-hour hearing, testimony of flagrant abuse kept surfacing. There was the Chicago yard manager who bragged about how many Machinists' union representatives he had broken, the Philadelphia station supervisor who struck a red cap for allegedly reading a newspaper, and the Midwest regional

manager of labor relations who made racist and anti-union statements and who would automatically deny the disciplinary appeal of any worker who filed an equal employment opportunity (EEO) complaint.

Other workers also mentioned the racism of some Amtrak managers: the black Seattle porter who was fired (based on a hearing he was not permitted to attend) for allegedly wearing the wrong color socks and unshined shoes, and the black quality assurance inspector who was "reevaluated" and rumored to have a drinking problem after he refused to treat workers high-handedly. There were also workers—both black and white—routinely charged with rule violations when they received injuries on the job.

Topping it all off was the Midwest regional director who met with his Chicago hearing officer before a case and denounced a worker, saying, "I want you to get that s.o.b. and make it stick or else it's your ass. Do you get my drift?"

Testifying as workers and unionists were Chicago machinist Raymond Northern, Seattle porter Terry Walker, Philadelphia red cap Alan Randall, Machinists' district chairman Paul Stoj, police association president Michael Aurisano and Chicago machinist Jim Pitts. The three Chicago women were train manager Kathy Netzing, labor relations supervisor Jodie Walton and EEO representative Kelly Zanders.

Michael Young, general chairman of the Amtrak division of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, was the ranking unionist to testify. After detail-

ing how a "state of siege mentality" had corrupted Amtrak's labor relations, Young proposed new contract language to deter abuses, including an unjust treatment rule so workers can charge bosses with harassment and creation of a labor advisory committee that would speak directly to the company's board of directors.

Joining Collins in pointed questioning was Rep. Sidney Yates (D-IL), Rep. Major Owens (D-NY), Rep. Raymond McGrath (R-NY) and Rep. Gerald Kleczka (D-WI). Rep. Charles Hayes (D-IL) sat in to denounce Amtrak as "a new plantation on the rails," a not-so-thinly-veiled reference to Graham Claytor, former head of the Southern Railroad and now president of Amtrak.

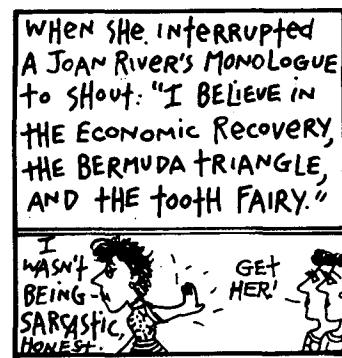
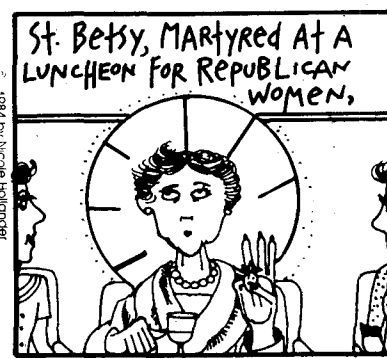
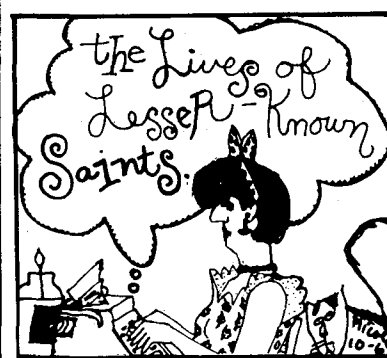
Claytor, in an aggressive performance to close the day, blamed the workers' stories on "mistakes of judgment" by "overzealous" managers who misinterpreted his orders. "A supervisor who has to act tough to show who's boss is not qualified to be boss," declared Claytor. He promised to "retrain" all Amtrak managers and defended his decision not to fire any of the conspirators.

Given Claytor's stubborn stance, it is unclear whether any corporate heads will roll at Amtrak. It may be January before the subcommittee votes on its findings. In the meantime, hundreds of workers who have complained of unjust discipline do not know if their cases will be reopened, and those who testified against their bosses or who have publicized the scandal fear new reprisals when the storm—and the elections—are past.

—Phil Milton

## SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander





# Religion

Continued from page 3

to exclude religion from state assistance and encouragement, but only to prevent one national religion from being singled out for predominance. He rejected Jefferson and Madison's views as a suitable guide to the Constitution. According to Murray, Madison had a "sectarian idea of religion," which held that it was an entirely private matter.

Murray, in words that would be echoed by conservatives over the next three decades, charged that the Court was "neutral against religion." (In a speech this month, Reagan accused opponents of school prayer as favoring "freedom against religion.")

Murray did not see himself as an opponent of the Constitution, but rather as a faithful interpreter of it. His view has informed the conservative opposition to the Warren Court's rulings and underlay Reagan's view of church and state in Dallas.

## Reagan and the fundamentalists.

But there was another philosophical strain in Reagan's speech. When he accused the opponents of school prayer of being "intolerant of religion" and of "attacking religion...in the name of tolerance and freedom and openmindedness," he was indulging in partisan rhetoric. But he was also echoing the analysis of the church-state debate offered by right-wing Protestant fundamentalists.

A word about fundamentalism. It dates from the publication in the 1910s of the 12-volume series, *The Fundamentals*. Fundamentalists advocate biblical inerrancy, evangelism and personal salvation, the rejection of scientific method and the theory of evolution, and the second coming. The second coming will occur when, upon the return of the Jews to Israel, the Beast and the Anti-Christ unleash "great tribulation." Christ will then return to lead an army of saints against the infidels. Only true Christians will enjoy the reign of peace and justice that will ensue after Christ's army triumphs.

In its insistence on personal salvation, biblical inerrancy, the creation of an army of saints, and in its goal of establishing a religious commonwealth "run on God's laws," fundamentalism is a throwback to early Puritanism and to Calvinism. But unlike Swiss Calvinism or New England Puritanism, fundamentalism has shifted between intense socio-political involvement directed toward establishing a new "Christian America" and a politics of personal salvation and separation.

The Rev. Jerry Falwell embodies both sides of fundamentalism. In 1965, angered by the Rev. Martin Luther King's civil rights movement, Falwell declared in a sermon:

*Nowhere are we commissioned to reform the externals.... Our only purpose on this earth is to know Christ and to make him known. Believing the Bible as I do, I would find it impossible to stop preaching the pure, saving gospel of Jesus Christ, and doing anything else—including fighting communism, or participating in civil rights reforms.*

But in 1980 Falwell, the founder of the Moral Majority, announced, "God has been calling me to do more than just preach—he has called me to take action. I have a divine mandate to go right into the halls of Congress and fight for laws that will save America."

In the '20s there was a flurry of fundamentalist political activity, focused on the anti-Darwinian *Scopes* trial. After World War II, fundamentalist minister Carl McIntire played an important role in the right-wing anti-Communist movement. The keystone of fundamentalist anti-Communism was the conception of the Soviet Union as "the beast" of biblical prophecy and of the U.S. as the "Christian republic" that would field an army of saints against the Soviet Union.

But in the '70s, fundamentalists, angered by Supreme Court rulings and

threatened by the counter-culture, were drawn directly into political activity. In 1975, the Christian Freedom Foundation, funded by J. Howard Pew of Sun Oil and Richard DeVos of Amway and headed by born-again former salesman Edward McAteer, began trying to organize fundamentalists to support congressional candidates. In 1976 McAteer was recruited by new right leader Howard Phillips, a Jew, to direct his Conservative Caucus.

McAteer and the Rev. Robert Billings provided the link between the new right and the TV evangelists. In 1979, under the new right's guidance, Falwell's Moral Majority, the Christian Voice and McAteer's Religious Roundtable took the field.

Initially many political fundamentalists simply translated their religious convictions into political ideology. In 1979 Christian Voice championed legislation to declare the U.S. a "Christian nation." At a September 1981 meeting at Old Dominion University, McAteer spoke openly of trying to create a "Bible-based society." Other fundamentalist spokesmen made disparaging remarks about Jews and Catholics, both of whom had always been denied membership in the army of saints.

But under the leadership of Falwell and the new right, the fundamentalists modulated their message for national consumption. While their religious convictions continued to reflect Calvinist and millenarian underpinnings of fundamentalism, their public political stance became pluralistic and ecumenical. They welcomed Catholics and Jews into the Moral Majority (although Falwell's fondness for Israel was based more on biblical prophecy than political opportunism) and proclaimed that their only goal was to

continue to reflect, if obliquely, their Calvinist absolutism.

The key concept in the fundamentalists' public arsenal is that of secular humanism. Cal Thomas has described secular humanism as "an incorrect view of mankind placing the created at the center of all things rather than the creator." The Rev. Tim LeHaye, co-founder of the Moral Majority and the movement ideologue, writes of the humanists' view of an "autonomous self-centered man."

The political fundamentalists attribute all the current ills of the U.S. to the ascendancy of secular humanism. LeHaye wrote in *The Battle for the Mind*, "Today's wave of crime and violence in our streets, promiscuity, divorce, shattered dreams and broken hearts can be laid at the door of secular humanism." LeHaye warns, "We are being controlled by a small but very influential cadre of committed humanists who are determined to turn traditionally moral-minded America into an amoral, humanist country."

LeHaye cautions that if the forces of light do not act soon, "the humanists will accomplish their goal of a complete world takeover by the year 2000."

There are clear affinities between the fundamentalists' critique of secular humanism and the Burkean conservatives' rejection of Enlightenment rationality. But the fundamentalists introduce the flames of sectarian passion into Burke's comparatively placid prescriptions.

While LeHaye insists that the battle against secular humanism is a "pretribulation tribulation," he and the other fundamentalists describe secular humanism as the philosophy of the anti-Christ. Like the anti-Christ, it disguises itself in the garb of religion—in the form of the Na-

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of the deity are "attacking religion" and have become "intolerant of religion" by enlisting in a secular humanist cause. Reagan was indulging in partisanship, but he was also speaking in accordance with fundamentalist political theory.

Reagan's crypto-fundamentalism also explains two curious passages in his Dallas address. In it, he declared, "Religion needs defenders against those who care only for the interests of the state." On the surface, this statement appeared contradictory, since the Moral Majority wants to invoke the state on behalf of its cause—by outlawing abortion and requiring school prayers.

It only makes sense if one identifies these latter laws with God's law and the rulings of the Court with the soundings of secular humanism. Calvin understood the distinction—he intended his Swiss theocracy to merge God's laws with the laws of the state—but it is unlikely that many non-Calvinists do.

Reagan's closing peroration was on one level the typical posturing of a politician seeking the religious vote, but it also possessed a deeper meaning. Reagan said:

*Without God there is no virtue because there is no prompting of the conscience; without God we are mired in the material...without God democracy will not and cannot long endure.... If we ever forget we are One Nation Under God, then we will be a nation gone under.*

The sentiment expressed here is different from that in the Declaration of Independence, which says we are "endowed by our Creator with certain inalienable rights." For Jefferson, God was the necessary condition of human freedom, but the establishment of that freedom—through the creation of a government and



secure a fair hearing for their views. "I would like to walk into a public library and find not only works by Gloria Steinem, but also those of Phyllis Schlafly, Moral Majority Vice President Cal Thomas wrote in 1982.

Instead of talking about the U.S. as having been a "Christian nation," the fundamentalists speak of it as having been a "pro-moral" or a religious nation. The fundamentalists' goal has become establishing a Judeo-Christian nation rather than a Christian one.

But the sectarian impulse behind fundamentalism has nevertheless continued to assert itself. The fundamentalists' sermons continue to speak of the second coming and army of saints. (Falwell described his followers as "Marines who have been called to God...to encounter the enemy face-to-face and one-on-one bring them under submission to the Gospel of Christ".) In 1981 Falwell even published a booklet entitled "Armageddon: the Coming War with Russia." And the fundamentalists' public ideology con-

tional Council of Churches or Jimmy Carter's born-again faith.

Within the category of secular humanism, the fundamentalists sweep together proponents of abortion rights with deficit spenders and soft anti-Communists. In the fundamentalists' view, anyone who advocates human betterment through government or government interference with what the fundamentalists deem God's laws is a secular humanist. Thus, most liberal Democrats are secular humanists.

If followed to its natural conclusion, the fundamentalists' politics would divide Republicans and Democrats and conservatives and liberals into rival camps of the Godly and the infidel—not according to their inward belief in the deity, but according to whether they back the fundamentalists' or the secular humanists' political agenda.

Thus the paradox enunciated by Reagan in Dallas. Even though the opponents of school prayer include ministers, priests and rabbis, these representatives

nation—was an act independent of God's will and design. Believers and non-believers alike could contribute to the American experiment. A person's religious belief did not qualify him or her for ensuring the survival of democracy. Depending on the belief, it could be as much a hindrance as a help.

But Reagan's statement, if closely read, suggests that without individuals' active belief in God and adherence to acceptable religion there would be no virtue or democracy. Americans must remember, Reagan says, that we are "one nation under God."

In sounding the trumpet in Dallas against the infidel and in equating him with the opponents of fundamentalism's special concerns, Reagan may have made the most blatantly sectarian speech ever delivered by an American president. He did not honor the wall of separation between church and state, whether in Jeffersonian or Burkean terms, but sent it crumbling.

Next week: the Democrats and religion.



## LABOR

# NLRB limits hospital unions

By Barbara Yuill

WASHINGTON

**I**N WHAT COULD BE THE BIGGEST setback yet for organized labor in the health care industry, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)—seeking to limit the number of unions in the largely non-union health care industry—last month tightened union certification conditions for bargaining units at hospitals and nursing homes. The three-one board decision was supported by three Reagan administration appointees and opposed by Don A. Zimmerman, a Carter appointee. There is one vacancy on the board.

Citing congressional legislation passed in 1974, the NLRB ruled that new bargaining units for health care employees will be approved only if it can be shown that workers who would be represented by a new unit have a demonstrable "disparity of interest" with other employees, to prevent a "proliferation of bargaining

units" in the health care industry.

In 1974, Congress extended protection of the NLRB to nonprofit health care institutions, but warned against a "proliferation of bargaining units to decrease the likelihood of work stoppages that could affect health care delivery." A decade of costly litigation, delays and confusion followed because the legislation didn't set guidelines for how many units constitute a "proliferation" or at what point differences in employee classifications become a "disparity of interest." Several union drives were tied up for years in court as management and labor studied the intent and application of the law.

Management lawyers applauded the decision—which suggests that two bargaining units per institution is adequate—saying that it will finally end the decade of litigation stemming from the original legislation's ambiguity. Previously the labor board had recommended between five to eight units per institution. Critics of the new ruling charge its meaning is



just as murky as the original congressional legislation and that there is no justification for a separate standard in the health care industry.

"There is no evidence that there has been an undue amount of strife in the health care industry," said Gerry Shea, health care coordinator with the Service Employees International Union. Shea estimated that 75 percent of all health care unions certified in the past decade would have been turned down by the NLRB under the new ruling.

"The only beneficiary of a new rule is

likely to be the legal profession, due to increased litigation to define the rule's true meaning," predicted Zimmerman in his solo dissent. He accused a "proliferation of litigation" of undermining labor relations "at least as much as any potential proliferation of bargaining units."

The ruling came from a case involving a Memphis, Tenn., Catholic hospital, St. Francis, and an organizing attempt by a local of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The IBEW filed a charge with the NLRB, saying St. Francis had refused to negotiate with the union. Citing the congressional legislation, the NLRB supported the hospital. A similar appeal had been turned down by a more liberal NLRB in 1982.

"The labor board has been useless to enforce rights. This ruling effectively removes the NLRB as an avenue," said Shea, adding that the decision is forcing AFL-CIO policymakers, including President Lane Kirkland, to seriously consider a repeal of the National Labor Relations Act.

Barbara Yuill writes on labor issues for the *National Catholic Reporter*.



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# Mitterrand's new curriculum

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**F**RANCE LIVES BY THE SCHOOL year, which begins at the *ren-trée* when everyone goes back to school in September. This year the French came back from their summer vacations to find a new teacher with a new curriculum. Lesson number one was "*decrispation*"—a word dragged out of the bottom of the lexicon and spread over newspapers to instruct the French that "cooling it" (a very loose translation of the French word that means "unclenching") was the new political fashion. The new prime minister, Laurent Fabius, was setting the example by acting as cool and unclenched as possible.

It should be remembered that the last school year ended in an atmosphere close to civil war as more than a million people organized by the right demonstrated in Paris on June 24 against the left government's education bill. The bill's main sin was to try to attach a few strings to the immense amount of money the government shells out to support private schools in France, mostly Catholic. French education bills are usually too complicated to construe clearly, but the uproar they arouse can give an idea of the relative vigor of the country's left and right forces. The June 24 demonstration was especially alarming since it came only one week after the French left suffered disastrous defeat in the European parliamentary elections.

Within a month President Francois Mitterrand dropped the education bill, which was the last markedly left-wing measure his government was trying to enact. Fabius was appointed to call a truce in the left-right hostilities. Most of the media helped, preaching *decrispation*. *Le Monde* gave its front page to a much-heralded poll showing that the French "do not believe their politicians tell the truth." That same day Fabius made his *rentree* appearance in an September 5 interview show called "Moment of Truth." Fabius acted truthful, giving simple and modest answers. Thus the media provided the public with what the media just told the public it wanted: an honest man.

Communications specialists were ecstatic. Fabius had said nothing, but he had said it simply and sincerely.

No longer encumbered with left-wing policies or Communist cabinet members, Mitterrand skillfully sidestepped the whole campaign of middle-class mobilization in defense of "liberties" by which neo-Gaullist leader Jacques Chirac was hoping to take Mitterrand's place before his term runs out in 1988. Chirac's rival for leadership of a right-wing comeback, Raymond Barre, scoffed at such haste. "This government is legitimate," he declared generously, adding that with the Socialists in office, the French were "losing their illusions." He even said that the longer this "lesson in realism" lasts, the better.

The better for him, it seems. A political dead weight when he was President Giscard's prime minister, Barre in opposition has soared to the top of the polls. In a survey taken at the *rentree*, Barre was the most popular political leader in France, with 50 percent favorable opinions and 32 percent unfavorable. This contrasts with 54 percent dissatisfied with Mitterrand and 33 percent satisfied.

## Mitterrand's latest blunder.

Mitterrand's tactical skill does nothing to restore his popularity so long as the economy continues to go down hill. The French president has been able to find some consolation in the national consensus around his foreign policy. But in late August Mitterrand made his first big foreign policy blunder in the eyes of the

French establishment. Against the advice of his specialists, the president had a secret rendezvous with King Hassan II of Morocco. Why did the Socialist president risk his image by spending three days in mysterious consultation with the wily Moroccan monarch?

The only obvious answer was insatiable curiosity over the surprising unity pact Hassan signed on August 13 with his erstwhile arch-enemy, Colonel Moammer Kadhafi of Libya. Reagan administration officials were reportedly shocked and baffled and may have asked their French friend to clear things up. On the face of it, the unexpected union threw a serious monkeywrench in any plans for "Western" military action against "terrorist" Libya. Normally the U.S. would expect to use Moroccan bases for such an operation, but the August 13 pact specifies that an attack on one of the partners will be considered an attack on the other.

Hassan II has been very dissatisfied with the meager aid provided by the Reagan administration in return for use of Moroccan bases. Deepening poverty is threatening social order in Morocco. The deal with Kadhafi evidently means that Libya will cut off its aid to the Polisario, whose long resistance to the Moroccan takeover of the Sahara has drained the King's treasury. Drought has ruined Moroccan farming, and the population has risen from 16 to 22 million in a decade. Shanty towns have expanded to the edge of the royal golf course. The King is often shown in prayer and has publicly lamented the gap in his country between rich and poor.

The royal compassion has not extended to teenage prisoners jailed in Marrakesh on charges of instigating last January's widespread hunger riots. On August 28 and 29, two of them died at the end of a long hunger strike and other prisoners were in dangerous condition. On August 29, Mitterrand arrived secretly at Hassan's royal residence in Ifrane. Moroccan sources leaked news of the visit the next day. Since it was hardly credible that Mitterrand was making a three-day secret trip in order to protest against treatment

## In late August Mitterrand made his first big foreign policy blunder. Against the advice of his specialists, he had a rendezvous with King Hassan of Morocco.

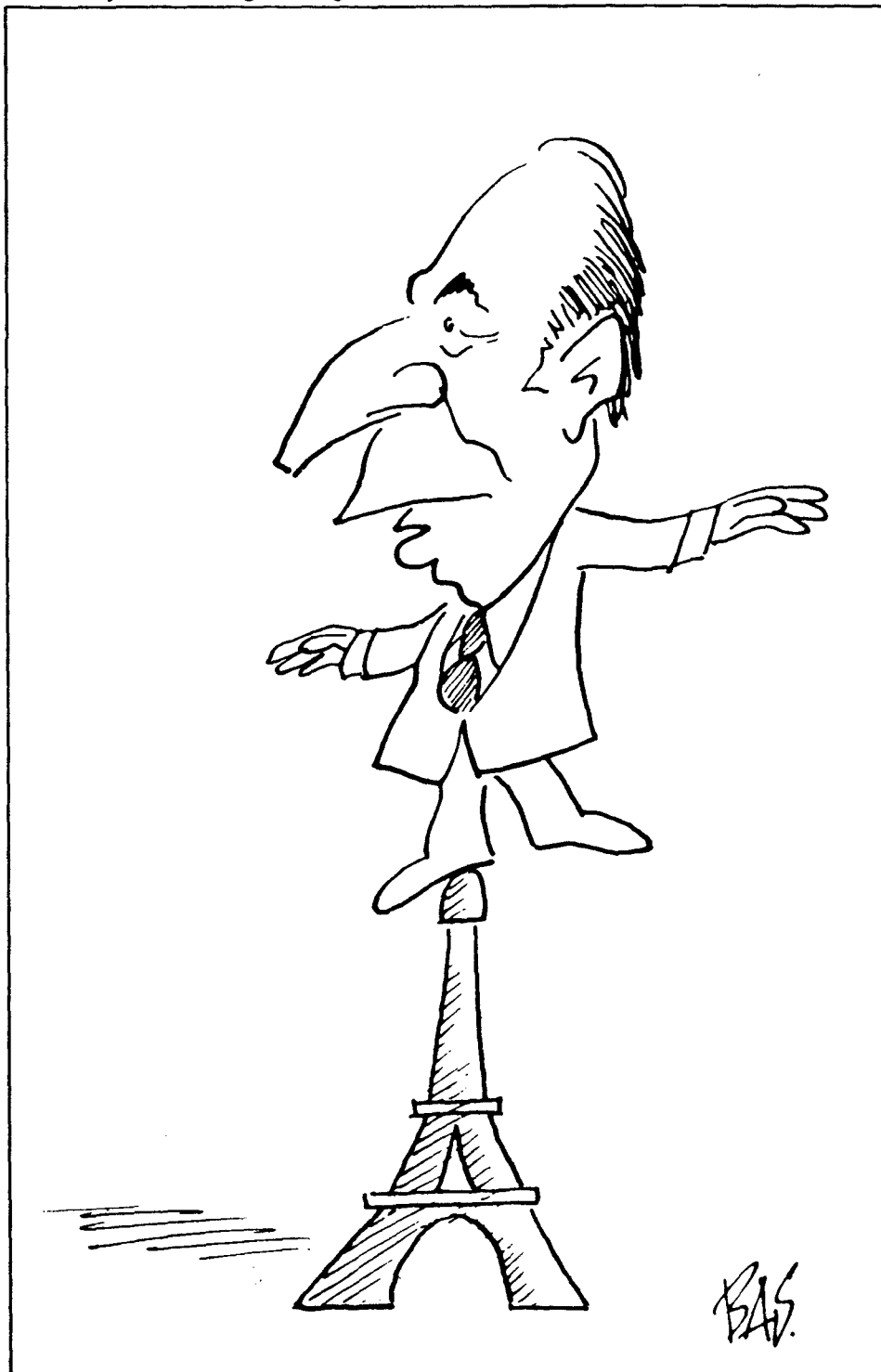
of the Marrakesh prisoners, the French president's carefully cultivated image as human rights champion was considerably blurred.

Forty percent of Moroccans are unemployed. France has long provided jobs for thousands of Moroccan workers, but deindustrialization and growing racism in France are changing the picture. About the time Mitterrand was visiting Hassan, Moroccan auto workers in France were either being fired or forced to enter the Citroen plant through humiliating cages, like livestock entering a slaughter house. The Moroccan head of the factory section of the CGT labor confederation was beaten by police when he refused to go through the cages. He now plans to return to Morocco and run for office as a

Socialist. Such return can scarcely be welcome to Hassan.

Union with the oil-rich Libya awakened fresh hope in Morocco. Libya immediately began hiring Moroccans to fill 15,000 jobs.

Then on September 17, France and Libya announced an agreement for joint evacuation of their forces from Chad, where they have been glowering at each



other across a vast stretch of desert for more than a year on behalf of opposing forces in the latest chapter of Chad's endless civil wars. French diplomats insisted that there was no connection between Mitterrand's visit to Hassan and the agreement with Libya, which was negotiated largely by External Affairs Minister Claude Cheysson. Cheysson, who ran Saharan development for the Algerian government in the '60s, knows north Africa well. Getting out of Chad was enthusiastically hailed in France as a great success for Mitterrand.

With Mitterrand and Fabius promoting *decrispation* with the right in the effort to create an eventual centrist coalition, the "union of the left" seemed never to have existed. Just as when they split in 1977, the Socialists and Communists blamed each other. Socialist Party Secretary Lionel Jospin accused the Communist Party (PCF) of pulling out of the government coalition last July in order to cut short the debate inside the party set off by the PCF's disastrous 11 percent score in the June 17 European elections.

## The Communist role.

Although the Communists could plausibly cite good policy reasons for leaving the Fabius cabinet, Jospin's analysis appeared confirmed when the PCF old guard headed by George Marchais turned

up miraculously unscathed by defeat and in full control at the party's annual fundraising fair, the *Fete de l'Humanite*. Interviewed by French television, Marchais promised a "thorough debate" in the party leading up to its 25th congress, but added that in his opinion "discussion is worthless unless it is constructive."

This seems to rule out any criticism of the way the Communist Party leaders themselves undermined the union of the left, since all that is a thing of the past. Marchais said the 25th congress would draw lessons from the 25-year experiment at union of the left, but he was already sure that "the form of unity will not be the same in the future."

Historically the PCF has vacillated between electoral unity with the Socialists and what it variously calls "unity at the

base" or "unity in struggle"—meaning an effort to increase its influence by taking leadership of popular discontent, labor struggles or mass movements. This second course means accepting electoral defeats, but according to Marchais, Communists in the National Assembly cannot do much anyway.

"The president and prime minister decide. The parliament has a most limited role," Marchais observed. The Communists' place is alongside working people in struggle, he said. The French people "are learning from experience that the weakening of the Communist Party was not a good thing for them."

In a front-page editorial, the PCF newspaper *l'Humanite* said elections were "not the only parameter for measuring a party's strength, its relations with the population." It said the *Fete de l'Humanite* brings out a crowd that only the PCF can bring together in France. "These two days are going to count," it promised.

But when the count was in, *l'Humanite* editor-in-chief Roland Leroy announced that 574,561 entrance tickets had been sold, down from 624,213 last year. And a lot more came to hear rock stars like Nina Hagen than to listen to Leroy's political speech. Leroy offered objective reasons for struggle on the labor front. "A thousand workers every day are swelling the

*Continued on page 10*



By Joan Walsh

The big political story of 1984 was supposed to be a dramatic increase in registration and turnout among black, Hispanic, women, working class and poor voters, most of whom were conspicuously missing from the 27 percent of the electorate that gave Ronald Reagan his mandate in 1980.

All the elements of the story were there: a president whose political agenda blatantly favors the white and wealthy; a surge in black political activity that crested with Jesse Jackson's presidential candidacy; a marked aversion to Reagan among women, the country's new voting majority; labor's early commitment to turning out its ranks behind a chosen Democrat, Walter Mondale. Add to that a new interest in electoral work by non-partisan groups whose issues range from the nuclear freeze to welfare rights, and the potential for changing the political equation seemed impossible to overstate.

But overstated it was. These days the only thing more discouraging than looking at Mondale's standing in the polls is talking to voter registration groups. It's not that new voters aren't being added to the rolls; millions are. But there will likely be millions fewer than projected, and they're being balanced by a sophisticated, well-financed and targeted voter registration drive by Republicans and right-wing groups that could conceivably add more Reagan voters to the electorate than anti-Reagan efforts are netting for Mondale.

To gauge the political expectations invested in voter registration this year, one has to return to the 1982 midterm election, when reaction to the Reagan-deepened recession manifested itself in Democratic victories across the country. Democrats gained 26 congressional seats, seven governorships and control of eight more state houses. Perhaps more significant, voter turnout rose and the historic gaps between white and black, rich and poor and employed and unemployed voters narrowed sharply. The momentum continued into the municipal elections of 1983, with minority registration and turnout at all time highs in Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston and Denver.



But at the same time as the Democrats and their allies were taking encouragement from those developments, the Republicans were quietly shoring up their base with sophisticated electoral technology their rivals can only marvel at. Researchers examining the 1982 election are beginning to credit the GOP with holding 15 to 25 congressional seats it should

have lost that year, given the state of the economy and the Reagan administration's poll standing, according to the *Washington Post*. That financial and technological edge has only increased.

The reason for the current voter registration standoff is that the Republicans are outspending and out-thinking Democrats when it comes to reaching voters. "The Democrats have had the luxury of being the majority party, and voter registration is easier for them—they can go to shopping malls and set up tables," says John Buckley of Reagan-Bush '84. "We have to screen carefully to make sure we're not registering anti-Reagan voters." The GOP is screening with the latest in computers and phone banks, cross-checking census data and precinct voting information against lists of names that range from subscribers to upscale mail-order catalogs and financial magazines to new car or home buyers—to find unregistered voters whose income and interests make them likely Republicans.

The Republicans have put close to \$10 million into voter registration this year, and the investment has yielded 2.5 million new voters, Buckley said. And those are just voters registered directly by Republican National Committee or Reagan-Bush staff and volunteers, he pointed out. "We've got every name on computer tape. That's not counting the Christian community, which should register at least two million on its own," Buckley noted.

By contrast, the Democratic Party's registration effort has been haphazard, in some places nonexistent. During the primaries registration was virtually ignored, and many groups charged that was because the national committee feared higher registration would favor Jesse Jackson's campaign. Tony Harrison, the DNC's beleaguered voter registration director, has spent all year denying that charge. "We were busy running primaries. Any resources we had, we tried to get into the communities, but the Democratic primary candidates were siphoning off the available money."

Now the party is trying to step into the

breach, but the effort is widely viewed as too little, too late. Democratic Senate and Congressional Committee money has gone into contested races, and some of it has been used for voter registration. The Mondale campaign has chosen its targets poorly, initially ignoring Reagan's home state of California, for example, then deciding to fund voter registration there when other states looked even worse for the Democratic ticket.

Harrison won't even talk about how much money the DNC has spent on voter registration thus far. "At this point, while we're still trying to generate additional dollars, I'm not able to give you a figure," he said. His best hope is that the party will raise and spend \$15 million on registration and turnout by November. The Republicans will likely have spent twice that much.

In such a vacuum, the efforts of non-partisan voter registration groups across the country have come to stand for the Democratic effort, since their target population of chronically underregistered voters are thought to be a heavily Democratic constituency. DNC political staff even encourages union and others who want to help fund voter registration to contribute to the groups directly. The money is surely helpful; the expectations are not.

Judged without the burden of those national expectations, the voter registration groups have on balance waged a remarkable, groundbreaking campaign. The non-partisan efforts could still wind up registering five million new voters this year, if the October 4 mobilization is very successful; a more likely figure is three million. Black registration will be at least two million higher than in 1982, with one million black voters registered in '84 alone.

"This is the second wave of the civil rights movement," says Johanna Mendelson of the Clearinghouse on Voter Education, who offered perhaps the rosiest view of voter registration among the 30 people interviewed for this story. "From a long-term perspective the numbers are incredible. We've launched a whole new era in constituency group politics."

But it's also true that the voter registration movement reflects the weaknesses of constituency group politics. It's been long on theory and sometimes short



In clinics and at streetside tables, Planned Parenthood chapters across the country have registered 35,000 new voters.



In Chicago, community groups are trying to re-ignite the voter registration crusades of 1982 and 1983. But it is slow going.

politics of voter registration. The state has all the ingredients for an exhaustive registration drive: 5.6 million unregistered voters, 890,000 of them black. More than 100 groups have publicized voter registration drives there. Gov. Mario Cuomo has gone to court to get his order directing state employees to do voter registration past Republican opposition. It's also the home of Human Serve, one of the most ambitious of the newer voter registration projects that have emerged in the last few years, focusing on registration of social service recipients by agency workers and volunteers.

Human Serve, along with voter registration efforts ranging from Women USA to United Cerebral Palsy, is tied into the New York State Network, coordinated by AFSCME District 37, which feeds names of newly registered New Yorkers into its computer for follow-up mailings on where, when and how to vote. Network members who contribute more than 3,000 registrants can receive the computer list to do their own mailings on issues and candidates. But the Network may have only 100,000 names by the time registration closes in early October, far fewer than its 250,000 goal.

"It's really depressing," says Norman Adler. "On the whole the massive voter registration we'd hoped for has been a failure." Adler ran down a list of explanations: most groups are relatively inexperienced, they have not and cannot make voter registration their top priority. Resources are scarce. And doing voter registration isn't simple: learning the laws, acquiring materials, choosing sites and finding volunteers has proven more difficult than most groups bargained for.

But complicating the picture is the fact that some significant groups, most of them black, in Brooklyn, the lower east side and Harlem, aren't cooperating with the network. Brooklyn Assemblyman Al Vann's Coalition on Community Empowerment is mounting its own drives and keeping its own lists, all with an eye toward the 1985 mayoral election, when the gains in black voter registration spurred by Jesse Jackson's candidacy in the presidential primary last April are expected to be consolidated behind a black challenger to Mayor Koch. The likely

contender is Deputy Mayor Basil Patterson.

"Not every group will have the same agenda in 1985," says Janice Kydd, a Human Serve coordinator. "Blacks don't want to put their names in a computer with women, who might be supporting [City Council President] Carol Bellamy for mayor. And what if Herman Badillo runs—people want to see a minority candidate, but there's some disagreement over whether it should be a black or Hispanic. There's just not one agenda."

The result has been some tension among the groups, and a general lack of coordination of effort—although on balance the New York drive is considered one of the most successful. Between the Network and groups outside it, some 250,000 new voters will likely be added to the rolls this year; the Republicans have registered 114,000. But competitiveness has hampered the drive, many believe.

"I went to a meeting for the October 4 mobilization, and the breadth of groups there was amazing to me," says Margaret McEntire of Women USA. "Should we have been in meetings together this whole time? You bet we should have. I've wanted to know what other groups were doing and what's not being done. But it never happened."

### Who's registering blacks?

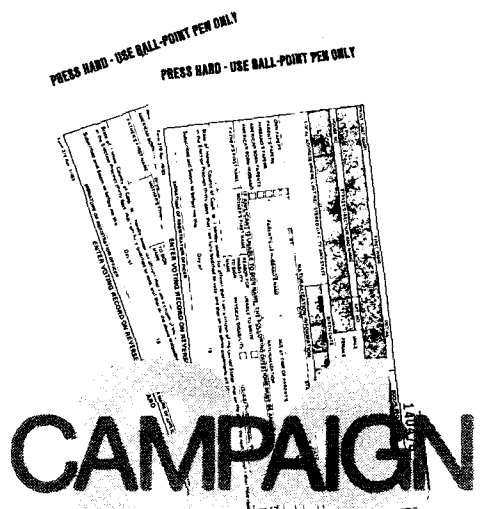
The October 4 mobilization, endorsed by 120 groups and coordinated by Human Serve, has provided another stage for the conflicts among the groups. Notably absent from the roster of endorsing groups are the NAACP and Operation Big Vote, a project of the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation.

The black groups' reluctance to join the mobilization—Atlanta-based Voter Education Project is one exception—is probably best understood in the context of their relationship with Human Serve. Human Serve is an audacious and multi-tiered organization that has probably engendered more publicity—and controversy—about voter registration and the obstacles to it than any of the other groups in the market.

Conceived as an experiment in organizing social service workers to register their clients to vote by Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, the foremost theoreticians of poverty and social movements, Human Serve departed from that model as the legal and bureaucratic obstacles to agency-based registration became obvious.

In cooperation with other groups, in-

cluding the NAACP and Project Vote (which also focuses on public aid and unemployment recipients but is Human Serve's elder by two years), it launched a legal campaign against barriers to voter registration around the country. It coordinated Freedom Summer, a plan to put college students to work registering voters during their summer break. It also shifted to using volunteers to register social service clients where workers were



unwilling or legally unable to do it. In New York City, volunteers supervised by Human Serve staff will probably register 100,000 voters by November. Across the country, its organizers claim to have registered 600,000 voters. At the project's start, the projection was five million.

But as Human Serve moved into the terrain of social service recipients and away from the worker to client model, it was entering other groups' turf. Project Vote, for one, had charted some of that territory, and early discussions about merging the two groups went nowhere. More significant was black groups' claim to those potential voters, disproportionately black themselves.

The NAACP's Joe Madison criticized Human Serve early and often. "They came in—they hadn't been seen or heard from before—and they're experts. It's arrogant. Black people are the easiest to register," he said. Madison invokes Stokely Carmichael and frankly urges "white liberals" to register whites. "Polls say 56 percent of Gary Hart's Yuppies are going to vote for Ronald Reagan. Why don't they work with them? Work with labor, get out the Catholics."

Madison has put out the same line all year. (He says similar things about Project Vote.) Some of it boils down to competition over funding and political prestige. But part of it is a legitimate difference of opinion over how to best introduce new voters into the political process. As one Harlem voter registration leader told the *Village Voice*, Human Serve's non-partisan pitch "means you can't say the key words that move people."

Human Serve Executive Director Hubert James (who, for the record, is black) acknowledges that the non-partisan voter registration movement, in general, has an image problem. "It's a progressive-liberal movement. For October 4 our list is predominantly white. There's a concern about hordes of white people descending on the black community, on the projects."

Human Serve suffers the additional ignominy of its academic parentage. "People have been skeptical of Frances and Richard's history. They see this as a theoretical, ideological thing, another book they're going to write," notes James.

The project has in fact borne the imprint of Piven and Cloward's academic work, especially their conviction that poor people can and will organize themselves to demand improvements in their lot. As the focus of those demands has increasingly become the state, the vote has become an important weapon. Human Serve's mission has been to help lower the barriers to voting, chief among them registration.

For a time the group showed a marked indifference to working to turn out those new voters, skeptical of studies showing that only a quarter of new voters go to the polls without prodding. Even now, when turnout has become a component

*Continued on following page*

Photographs by Paul Comstock

# THE Game



Continued from preceding page

of the project, it retains a rather meta-political aura, a feeling that poor people will surge to the polls if only they're allowed to.

In the wind-up, individual NAACP and Operation Big Vote chapters are working on the October 4 mobilization, and the absence of the national endorsements won't dampen black participation. But James has scaled back initial projects of "Millions More October 4" to a more realistic several hundred thousand. "The hope was to recreate the kind of thing that happened in Chicago last year," he said. "That's not going to happen."

### Chicago as model?

Trying to recreate the massive registration and turnout seen in Chicago and the other cities with close mayoral contests is a leading cause of inflated voter registration expectations nationally. For its part, without a galvanizing candidate Chicago can't even recreate the excitement of 1982 and '83, despite a liberalization in the state election code that allows community group members to be deputized as voter registrars. The new law encouraged the Chicago Coalition on Voter Registration to predict it could register 150,000 of the city's 500,000 unregistered voters; so far 20,500 have been added to the rolls. Coalition leader Guy Costello thinks the goal "is still doable," but he acknowledges it would take a turnout on precinct registration day, October 9, to equal the phenomenal push behind Adlai Stevenson's near-miss in the 1982 gubernatorial race—which registered 100,000 voters. And Illinois' notorious pre-election voter purge has yet to occur.

Statewide, Illinois voter registration has been higher than predicted outside Chicago. The Citizens Leadership Foundation, an outgrowth of the Citizen Action network with voter registration projects in 20 states, has scaled back its goal of 275,000 new voters to 250,000, mostly because of the lag in Chicago. Freeze groups are successfully registering voters

behind their endorsed Senate candidate, Paul Simon. But on the other side, Gov. James Thompson is using the voter registration law he helped pass to deputize Rotary Club and Chamber of Commerce members to register Republicans. Reagan-Bush '84 claims to have registered 62,000 new voters in Illinois so far.

In other key areas:

- Texas is still considered contested turf, in terms of voter registration if not presidential preference. The Republicans have added 445,000 never voters, and a network of fundamentalist churches could add several hundred thousand more. But the Lloyd Doggett-Phil Gramm Senate race is the kind of campaign that can cause the surge among the underrepresented that made the difference across the country in 1982. Texas is also the home state of the Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project, the group that has been registering Hispanics across the country—its goal, working with two other Hispanic groups, is one million in '84—for 10 years, with a rigorous emphasis on local issues and local candidates. Southwest alone will likely add 150,000 Hispanic voters in Texas this year; Project Vote and Human Serve have just funded drives in three cities. They and Operation Big Vote have 560,000 unregistered black voters to work on.

- Ohio has seen one of the most productive voter registration efforts, supported in part by Gov. Richard Celeste, who has eased the way for registration of social service clients at state offices. The Midwest Voter Registration and Education Project, an outgrowth of Southwest, has waged a successful campaign. Project Vote and the Citizens Leadership Foundation should register 100,000 between them. The Republicans have registered only 47,000 and have scaled back initial projections of 100,000 new voters to 65,000.

- California is the Democratic disaster area. The Republicans have already registered 515,000, and Mondale's recent decision to put \$250,000 in the state isn't ex-

pected to seriously counter that. The Republicans are outregistering Democrats even in areas the Democrats are putting resources into. In Rep. George Brown's (D-Riverside) congressional district, on the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee list of priority races, Republicans have outregistered Democrats 8,700 to 4,700.

"The Republicans are burying us," says Craig Merrillees, northern California director of the Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED). CED is working on voter registration in selected state assembly districts and could miss its projected goal by 30 percent. "And we have a track record on voter registration—we didn't pull those numbers out of the air," says Merrillees.

- In the South, black voter registration is the Democrats' only asset. Registration in the 11 Southern states has climbed 23 percent since 1980, and the net increase should near one million by November, according to Brian Sherman, research director of the Voter Education Project. In North Carolina, the black vote is up 28.4 percent. Alabama has recorded the highest increase, adding 132,000 new black voters for a 37.7 percent again.

Yet those Democratic gains in the South will likely be offset by Republican and right-wing efforts among white voters. The Moral Majority claims it will register 2.5 million new voters through a network of 40,000 churches, and it has capitalized on a white backlash against the Jackson campaign. At a Moral Majority voter registration rally held after a Jackson appearance in North Carolina earlier this year, the state chapter head was quoted saying he'd like to see Jackson come to the state more often, so great was his contribution to efforts to register white conservatives.

As *Washington Post* writer Thomas Edsall reported last week, percentage gains in black registration are quickly balanced by white numbers. In Georgia, for example, almost 100,000 more white voters have been added than blacks, though black registration is up 15.6 percent, white 9.7. If, as predicted, two-thirds of those new white Southern voters back Reagan, they'll easily outnumber the 90 percent of black voters expected to back Mondale.

"I think the real problem is that Mondale doesn't motivate white voters, and the Democratic Party has no support structure for its white vote," says the VEP's Sherman. Or, to paraphrase Jesse Jackson, the old wineskin is taking in new wine, but the old wine is leaking out the cracks.

### The post-mortem begins.

Elsewhere in the anti-Reagan electorate, labor has no numbers to report yet on its voter registration efforts, which are grounded in its decentralized one-on-one program. With the participation of most of the AFL-CIO internationals, the Committee on Political Education (COPE) will provide local unions with the names of unregistered members so that stewards and others can approach them personally. Voter registration among union members has been climbing over the last 10 years, says COPE's Ben Albert, so that now they are more likely to be registered than non-union voters in their economic strata.

The Women's Vote Project, a coalition of 75 women's groups committed to registering their members and others this year, had reached only one-third of its 1.5 million goal as of Women's Equality Day, August 26. But Director Joanne Howes thinks that number was misleadingly low, because few NOW chapters had reported their figures, and other groups were only kicking off their registration drives.

"The numbers are just coming in," says Howes. "I have a different feeling than I had in the spring, when you really had to push people. There's a new level of enthusiasm." YWCAs are reporting 10,000 new registrants in mid-sized cities, she noted. The Planned Parenthood Federation, Human Serve's most productive agency, has registered more than 35,000 across the country.

The drive to register college students is reporting unexpected success, but that's

not good news for the Democrats. Students are tending to register heavily Republican or independent (and some voter registration advocates frankly wish they never had been chosen as a target group).

No matter where you look, the numbers aren't adding up to a Democratic victory nationally. Right now the best Democratic efforts are going into salvaging House and Senate victories in the likely event of a Reagan landslide.

As voter registration groups prepare for a final push, the post-mortems are already beginning. The Citizens Leadership Foundation's Heather Booth acknowledges the campaign's shortcomings but strikes a positive note. "There's going to be more registration and higher totals than we could have predicted two years ago, though lower than we predicted a year ago. But out of it all is coming the basis for more effective registration in the future. People are learning that they have to build their organizations, they have to focus on serious training in registration, they have to design a get-out-the-vote effort within the registration effort."

Project Vote's Al Raby, whose group has registered 400,000 new voters since 1981 but will likely fall short of its 750,000 goal, calls the national effort "a mixed bag. We set new goals in March and in some places we've raised our numbers. In Missouri we had to cut our projection from 5,000 to 2,000. The hardest thing is getting volunteers out to the sites. We're in the process of developing a broader spectrum of volunteers, but we have to develop their skills as well."

Willie Velazquez of SWVRP thinks the newer vote groups have to dig in on the local level. Southwest waged some 600 local registration drives before its 1984 push, he notes, "and if we were to do voter registration every four years we'd only add to the alienation. The most important elections are local—people are more affected by bad schools, bad police, bad local services than by the guy sitting in the White House."

But Velazquez, like most of the others, blames the Mondale campaign for what now looks like a Republican edge in voter registration. "The Mondale people have been wringing their hands about voter registration, but they didn't do much about it. They've relegated it to the bottom of their list of priorities, and now I think they're seeing their results."

## France

Continued from page 7

ranks of the unemployed," he said.

But subjectively, the situation in France at the moment seemed best described by Socialist Christian Goux, who lamented at a Socialist Party leadership meeting the trend toward individualism going contrary to socialist values, and "the desertion by the French of great causes, the lack of interest in collective projects, this phenomenal indifference toward others."

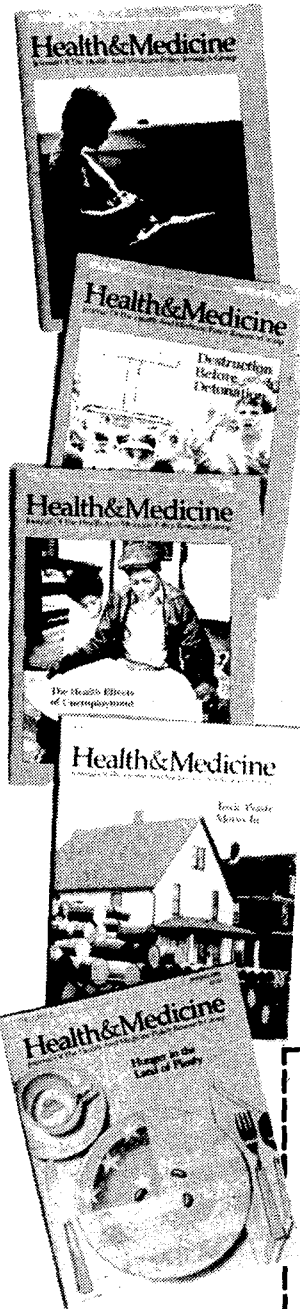
When the Communist Party feuds with the Socialists, it usually looks around for Christians to ally with "at the base." Thus Leroy harked back to the unity of people with "extremely different religious or philosophical convictions" in the liberation of France 40 years ago, and as a present-day possibility for unity cited some vague generality by the Catholic Bishop of Autun about all voices being heard. But this does not sound like a promising social partnership.

However, to try to build it up, the PCF in opposition will awaken its dormant peace movement and start to criticize Mitterrand's policy of close military co-operation with West Germany through the Western European Union. In the present atmosphere of anti-Communism in France, it will be easy for the media to stigmatize such belated agitation as obedience to "orders from Moscow."

Nevertheless, the PCF has promised to contribute to the success of a peace march in Paris on October 28 and will certainly try to bring out more people than such recent events in France have drawn.

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## PERSISTENCE

LESTER RODNEY WAS THE BEST sports writer in America for the 20 years he wrote for the *Daily Worker*, starting in 1936. Judging by his *ITT* article on the Olympics, he still is.

—William Mandel  
Berkeley, Calif.

## ONE GOD, ONE VOTE

TO COMPLETE THE HYPOCRISY President Reagan and Rev. Jerry Falwell should send an absentee ballot to God.

—Robert Wille  
Cleveland Heights, Ohio

## BACKWARD

AT A PRAYER BREAKFAST IN DALLAS during the Republican National Convention, President Reagan declar-

edly different from her normal pace. Her left foot makes a rounded motion as she tries to cut in front of Decker without giving Decker the required clearance.

I, too, have a life-time of athletic accomplishments behind me, and for that reason, I would be happy to lend Howard-Ady my video copy of the race. It is the inexperienced Zola Budd who must bear the responsibility for dashing Decker's chance for the gold.

—Dana Ward  
Pitzer College, Claremont, Calif.

## SEXIST DIVISION

I FOUND JO FREEMAN'S ARTICLE ON pay equity and David Moberg's on poverty informative, but their juxtaposition in the same issue (*ITT*, Aug. 22) served to bring out some questionable assumptions and blind spots in both. Where Freeman discusses an issue that by its very nature points in the

conditions, and for whatever dismal pay. Poverty and miserable work conditions therefore directly feed on the existence of a sexist division of labor. A call for pay equity, modelled after well-paid male jobs, and a call for salvaging those jobs, are simply cries in the dark when the historical and structural links between a good income and the sexist division of labor are ignored.

—Mechthild Hart  
Bloomington, Ind.

nia, Reagan hosted a rally at the Anaheim Convention Center in Orange County, Calif., where President Nixon spoke on behalf of Republican candidates running on the state ticket.

"Capital police" confiscated all signs at the door. Once inside, people were given a small American flag and a pre-made "homemade" sign. Party officials said later that they wanted to present a "uniform appearance" to the thousands watching by television throughout the state.

Another technique used to maintain that "uniform appearance" of crowds, not yet used in this year's campaign, was the use of complimentary tickets distributed by Republican campaign offices.

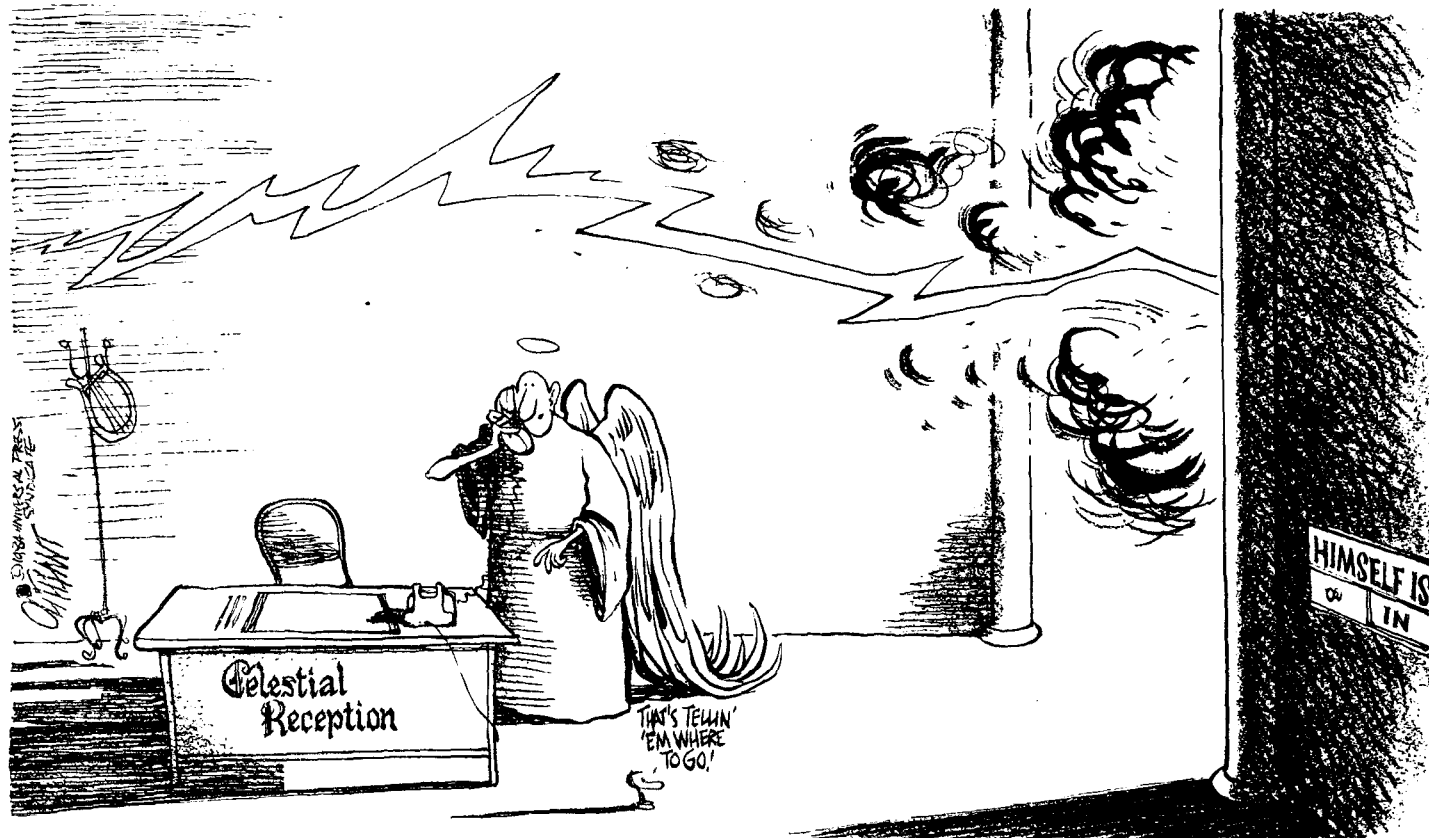
Everyone in attendance at the Anaheim rally was required to show a ticket that was to have been picked up at any office in the Anaheim area.

Everyone had tickets—party loyalists and demonstrators. But when demonstrators approached the entrance, tickets and signs in hand, they were stopped and told that the tickets were "counterfeit" and were refused entrance.

The process wasn't very selective. Those who looked like demonstrators were refused admission. The image presented to Californians was one of well-dressed whites waving flags and carrying signs, all uniform of course. It was a classic Hollywood production, complete with applause signs and staged demonstrations by Reagan and Nixon lovers.

Is there a way to get in touch with the group that is contemplating a suit? I would like to send them a copy of this letter and to give them more details if needed.

—Walter Mansfield  
Lexington, Ky.



'HIMSELF SAYS HE WON'T GIVE YOU A POLITICAL ENDORSEMENT, SIR, BUT HOW WOULD YOU LIKE A FAMINE, A COUPLE OF THUNDERBOLTS AND A PLAGUE OF LOCUSTS?'

ed: "The truth is: politics and morality are inseparable. And as morality's foundation is religion, religion and politics are necessarily related."

The president's notion that morality's foundation is religion puts the cart before the horse, and brings to mind George Orwell's "double think" in 1984.

Unless a religion is solidly based on morality, it is in danger of becoming a delusive snare and an ideological abomination.

—Edward D. Gourley  
Walnut Creek, Calif.

## COMING NEXT?

A RECENT NEWS ITEM REPORTED that the Pakistani armed forces have been given the task of checking up on all civilians in the country to make sure that they properly observe all the tenets of the Muslim religion, including the practice of daily prayer.

Now there's a regime and an army right after Jerry Falwell's (and possibly Reagan's) heart! How come some genius on the GOP platform committee didn't think of it first?

—John Rossen  
Chicago

## CLEAR VISION

I FOUND THE CHAUVINISM SURROUNDING the U.S. participation in the L.A. Olympics as appalling as did D.D. Howard-Ady (Letters, *ITT*, Sept. 12). But my disgust has not impaired my vision. After several viewings of the Budd-Decker collision, it is clear that Budd is responsible for Decker's fall. On each occasion when the two came in contact, Zola Budd's stride was mar-

direction of more radical questions about economic justice, Moberg moves within a truly obsolete frame of reference.

As Moberg mentions, the ranks of the poor are swelled primarily by women and children, or, to be more precise, by women and their children. "The poor," just like "the working class," remain purely mythical entities if their highly divided nature along the lines of sex is ignored. Those divisions are systemic and fundamental.

The absence of the question "Why is it primarily women who get poorer?" is glaring, particularly in the light of the current shifts and new developments on the labor market mentioned by Moberg. What he does not mention, however, is the fact that they concern the employment of women in a far-reaching and fundamental way. It is above all women who are increasingly pushed into financially, legally and socially unprotected work relations. Scores of women workers will become superfluous by the introduction of new technology in offices. They will be driven into unemployment or into a combination of old and new forms of half-time, part-time, temporary, seasonal, occasional, etc., employment now mushrooming.

These shifts and developments are especially relevant for women because those unstable and insecure forms of underemployment are designed to exploit the labor of women as housewives and mothers, cynically offering them the opportunity to "combine work with family responsibilities." Translated, this means to be once more fixated to the sole responsibility for children and housework, and to be forced to accept work under whatever brutalizing

## DIRTY TRICKS

RE: "LAUNDERED PROTEST" (IN Short, *ITT*, Sept. 5) the confiscation of homemade signs at Reagan rallies is not a new technique for RR or his Republican friends.

In 1970, while governor of Califor-

**Editor's note:** Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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ST21



## PERSPECTIVES

## Pope's instruction guards hierarchy

By Nicholas A. Patricca

**T**HE VATICAN "INSTRUCTION on liberation theology" is more a political declaration than a theological statement. As a theological statement, it essentially repeats the standard century-old Catholic critique of Marxism, which no Catholic liberation theologian has challenged.

The Catholic Church has always preached a liberal, and at times radical, doctrine of social justice, but it has seldom applied the principles of its own teachings to itself, claiming its divine status somehow exempted it from these dictates. The trouble with liberation theology is that it places the cause of the poor above all other interests (including the institutional interests of the Catholic Church) and it applies the principle of liberation thought to the structure and behavior of the Catholic Church itself.

Liberation theology has encouraged the formation of hundreds of thousands of "base-communities" all over Latin America. The Catholics of these communities are accustomed to a critical process of analyzing themselves and their situations and of acting to change them for the better. So far they have remained very loyal to the Church and to its episcopal structure. However, they are potentially a source of great trouble to the hierarchy

and to the papacy. In Brazil alone, there are more than 70,000 base communities. In El Salvador, many base communities have developed into what John Paul II calls "popular churches," that is, churches that have chosen to support the guerrillas and to ignore the orders of Church officials they judge to be collaborators with the oligarchy of that country.

In Nicaragua, the Catholic Church is becoming increasingly split into two camps: base communities that support the Sandinistas and traditional parishes that support the bishops who oppose the Sandinistas. The Catholic Church has a long memory and a long view of things. It will always vigorously oppose the development of any "church" within itself, especially one that claims freedom from the hierarchy and the right to minister to itself. The Vatican believes that the hierarchical episcopal structure of the Church is essential for its survival and for the integrity of the transmission of the faith. Thus, it will fight hard to protect its episcopal authority, even at the expense of sacrificing some short-term "justices."

Leonardo Boff, the Brazilian Franciscan who was recently called to Rome "to be examined," published a book in 1981 (*Church: Charisma and Power*) that undertook an analysis of the Catholic Church as if it were a "capitalist institution." Apart from the merits or demerits of this book, the fact that Boff attempted to analyze the Church with Marxist categories did not sit well with John Paul II



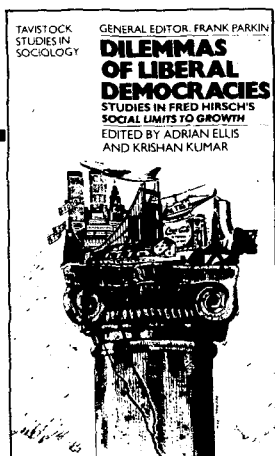
for the spiritual leadership of the Third World. John Paul believes that Marxism, because of its materialistic metaphysics and its false claim to science, inevitably leads to a totalitarian social system that suppresses the spirituality of the people. Thus, he is orchestrating a sophisticated and delicate strategy of identifying the Catholic Church with the poor and at the same time vigorously opposing Marxist domination, real or potential, of the various liberation movements of the poor. He is especially sensitive to the potential development of a "fifth column" of Marxist-dominated clergy and Catholic communities within the institutional structure of the Church.

A most apt analogy can be made (to my knowledge this analogy was first made by Dom Helder Camara of Brazil) between the use of Marxist philosophy by contemporary liberation theologians and the use of Aristotelian philosophy by medieval scholastic theologians. Both of these schools of theology have faced the cultural imperative to interpret and apply the meaning of their Catholic faith to the actual conditions of the worlds in which they live. Aristotle's God and his physics seemed, at the time, to be a great threat to the Catholic doctrine and institutional structure. The theology of St. Thomas Aquinas, which today the Catholic Church holds in such high regard, was repeatedly condemned in the 13th century for its use of the "alien and atheistic" philosophy of Aristotle. Liberation theology is a mere decade old. It has already contributed mightily to a great spiritual renewal in the Catholic Church. There is no doubt that it can be justly criticized on many counts, both philosophical and practical. There is also no doubt that it is the most important theological movement of our times.

Nicholas A. Patricca is an associate professor of religious studies at Mundelein College. His play *The Fifth Sun*, which tells the story of the life and death of Archbishop Oscar Romero of San Salvador, opens at Victory Gardens Theater in Chicago on September 26.

and other high-ranking prelates. This effort to understand the institution of the Church from an "alien" perspective provoked the Vatican into making this formal statement.

The Catholic Church, under the leadership of John Paul II, is competing with revolutionary Marxism for the allegiance of the poor worldwide and, specifically,



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## RETHINKING SOCIALISM

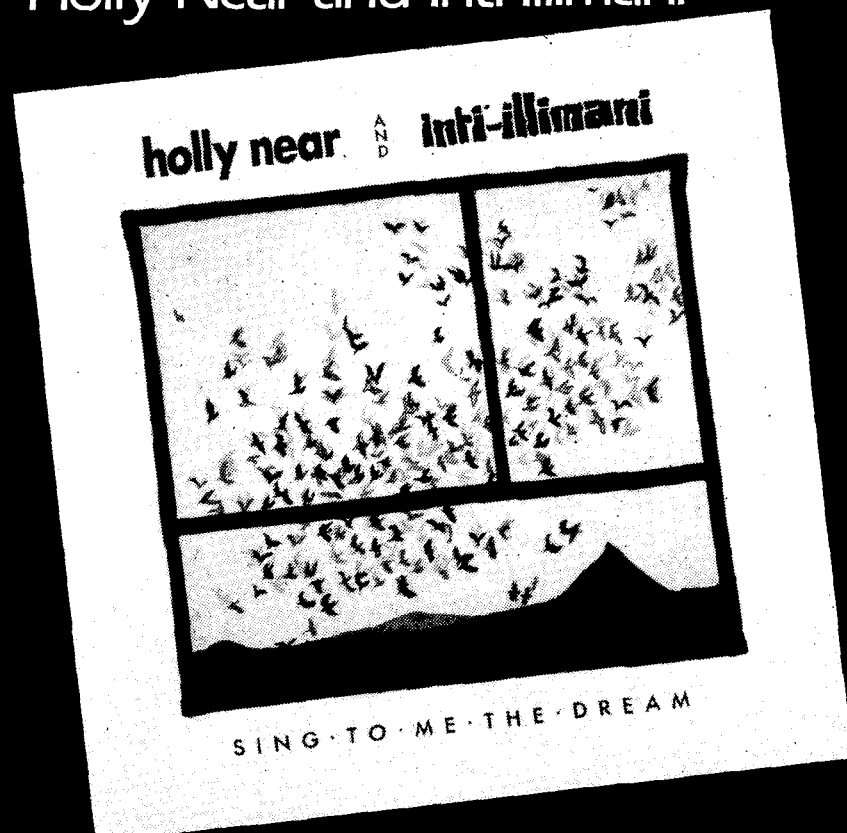
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By Michael Kazin

Across the political spectrum, the memory of the '60s is a battered corpse. The Reagan right depicts an era of anarchic chaos that spewed all kinds of noxious behavior and values over the face of traditional America. Liberals tend to remember lost possibilities of reform, assassinated heroes and a disastrous war; as before, they condemn the New Left's descent into oedipal rage and insurrectionist fantasy. Even some who have remained leftists often shudder at the revolutionary posturing that captured the movement around 1968 and forget the rest.

In this climate, neither scholarly nor trade publishers have been eager to issue sympathetic portrayals of an era so critical to the history of the U.S. and the world.

Until now. This collection of contemporary essays, with its forthright title, was assembled by the editors of the journal *Social Test*. It offers a stunningly intelligent mix of reminiscences, interpretations and proposals that together evokes the best in New Left thinking and extends its critical habits into the '80s.

*The Sixties, Without Apology*, despite its breadth, is not all one would desire. Fifty-six articles of varying lengths, each by a different author, inevitably include some misses. There are a few personal fragments unconnected to any theme and essays that obscure Vietnam and the ethnic revival behind clouds of specialized terminology.

But the editors have made no attempt to be representative. From Stanley Aronowitz's fine autobiographical opening to black feminist lawyer Flo Kennedy's epigrams at the end ("Any

so-called socialist who doesn't use cable TV is retrograde and reactionary"), the New York City orientation is unmistakable. Aronowitz, for example, lovingly describes early '60s campaigns for reform Democrats Mark Lane and, yes, Ed Koch; political differences between editors James Weinstein and SDS leader Tom Hayden over how *Studies on the Left* should regard the student movement; and the transcendent figure of A.J. Muste—the erstwhile labor organizer turned pacifist who mobilized thousands to march down Fifth Avenue against the slaughter in Vietnam.

#### From the Village.

For the most part, these are the '60s as seen from the West End bar, Greenwich Village and the passionate debates of well-educated men and women. Many of the authors—most of whom are white—either took part in the 1978 Columbia University strike or had close friends who occupied campus buildings on Morningside Heights. Now, as academics, journalists and artists, they can exult in what was gained as well as draw lessons from the failures.

The anthology most strikingly demonstrates how total the rebellion was that began at the zenith of *Time-Life* founder Henry Luce's "American century." An analysis of Dylan's "Like a Rolling Stone" fits perfectly next to capsule histories of radical feminism and French Maoism. Everything was being questioned and most things tried out, and the process exhilarated those who took part while it horrified those with power. Obviously, the American empire still stands, and the oppressions of race, gender and class grind on, but their legitimacy was severely questioned in the '60s and a culture of opposition was born.

This culture continues to yield a wealth of retrospective insights. Three excerpts: *London Times* journalist Simon Frith writes, "Rock didn't cause me to be political but rather confirmed my politics as background music, as a permanent sound track of anger and hope and joy."

Feminist writer Kate Ellis concludes a discussion of George

Jackson, "Now I try to hold two truths in my head at the same time: the system condemns the poor, and especially black youth, to a life of servitude in or out of jail, but it is equally unjust that I and the gas station attendant Jackson robbed at gunpoint in 1960 should bear the brunt of that iniquity."

Essayist and novelist Alix Kates Shulman recalls the attempted co-optation of feminism, "On the surface at least everyone had [changed]: rulers, liberals and misogynists alike all claimed to have come around. Those who denied us our rights in the old days by saying we didn't need them could now deny us our rights by pretending we already had them."

The picture that emerges is of a radical culture and politics that grew up together but then took separate roads sometime in the late '60s—to the detriment of the left. The culture's irreverence, candor and liberatory claims underlay every social movement from Little Rock's Central High School to Manhattan's Stonewall Tavern. Yet, advertisers could appropriate its symbols and narcissism sap its communitarian promise. At the same time, New Left politicians who condemned marijuana, rock music and gay liberation often

embraced the comforting dogma of Marxism-Leninism and sputtered into irrelevance.

In the '60s—which of course did not begin or end in a single decade—"the movement" raised the vision of both a society and personal relationships that could be egalitarian, non-exploitative and give full play to individual creativity. One can criticize its adherents for not working out the details and even for ignoring them. But to do so misunderstands the spirit of the era. Those who combined youthful anger and untrammelled experimentation had little patience for discussions of strategy.

#### Satisfaction.

The most satisfying essays in the anthology compel an appreciation of social change in all its contradictions. Black political scientist Jerry Watts returns to Danville, Va., to hear his uncle

In this  
political

climate

*publishers have not been  
eager to issue sympathetic  
portrayals of the '60s—an  
era so critical to U.S.  
history—until now.*

defend the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and cheer the fact that a black man is giving sports scores on local TV. "In that short exchange," says Watts, "he had conveyed both the failure and success of the civil rights movement."

Paul Buhle, a historian and activist who works largely outside academia, writes of radicals who became professionals in the '70s, "...individuals began to measure themselves for personal survival...self-definition of worthwhileness. To be harsh, more than a few began identifying themselves with their *vitae*." Yet he also recognizes and applauds the mark of '60s ideas on popular TV shows like *All in the Family* and *M\*A\*S\*H* as well as on historical monographs about subjects ranging from 19th-century womanhood to the Communist Party. The New Left's vision smashed up against the reality of an un-revolutionary society, but it certainly did not wither away.

In fact, this collective exercise in memory and analysis is itself an excellent argument for the virtues of political continuity. Time has allowed these "veterans" to soak up much learning and to develop a subtle wit most lacked in the days of clenched fists and self-proclaimed vanguards. They now use their talents to reclaim the past from its ubiquitous cynics, making clear that no period should be embraced or discarded as a relic fixed in the past.

The New Left shook the nation at its roots, although that fact has been forgotten. As the editors state in their introduction, "What you finally decide to think the '60s was is one of the forms in which you affirm or repudiate a whole part of your own life."

Michael Kazin teaches U.S. history at Stanford University and was active in Students for a Democratic Society.

ESSAYS

SELLING THE  
'SIXTIES



# Prime-time



By Rob Silberman

The ABC-TV mini-series *Call to Glory* has been so spectacularly successful that it has already been transformed from a pilot into a full-fledged show for the 1984-85 season. It fits right in with the current mood of the country, at least as represented by the flag-waving at the Olympics and the Reaganmania of the Republican convention. A drama about an Air Force family set in the '60s, it is a prime—and prime-time—example of what can be called “the new patriotism.”

*Call to Glory* is less a celebration of politics and patriotism than of family and friends. It consistently plays down overt, upbeat patriotism, while playing up the sheer difficulty of solving problems both public and private, professional and personal. The show seems to concede that the '80s pose problems for America that defy the formulas that worked 20 years ago. What might be a nostalgic exercise is instead a deeply ambivalent look backward.

The family at the center of *Call to Glory* consists of Colonel Raynor Sarnac (Craig Nelson), a pilot whose tight-lipped heroism is too good to be true; wife Vanessa (Cindy Pickett); 16-year-old daughter Jackie (Elisabeth Shue); and two sons, Wesley, a 13-year-old (David Hollander) who's just discovered girls, and “R.H.,” a nine-year-old wide-eyed cutie (Gabriel Damon). There's also a grandfather out of Saroyan, played by Keenan Wynn, who runs a flying school



and does loop-de-loops in a beautiful red biplane, whooping and hollering to beat the band.

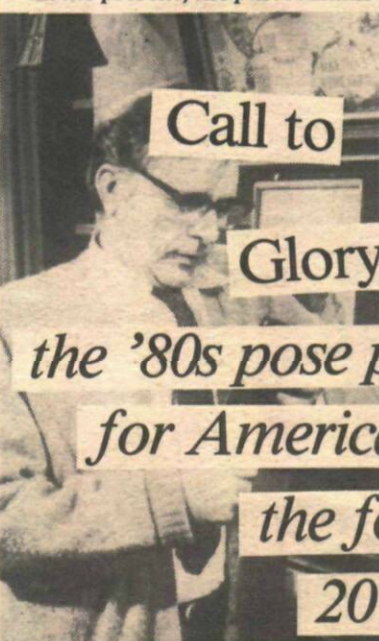
After several episodes the formula is clear: each show links at least one crisis in the family with a public or professional crisis. In the first episode R.H. stopped talking because of fears for his father's safety—anxieties that mirrored the global paranoia precipitated by the Cuban missile crisis. In the second episode Raynor was forced to choose between a lucrative job with an aerospace corporation and further hardship and sacrifice at Edwards Air Force Base. Nuclear testing provided the public crisis. The show was punctuated by reports on the negotiations for a test ban treaty and the contamination of the atmosphere—and milk—by strontium 90.

*Call to Glory* employs actual TV footage to establish its historical framework. The first episode showed JFK and others, including Pierre Salinger, McGeorge Bundy and Adlai Stevenson, with Hugh Downs' voice announcing. The fictional characters are shown watching the news on TV. They see Kennedy announcing the presence of the missiles and Stevenson telling the Soviet ambassador at the UN, “I am prepared to wait until hell freezes over” (for a straight “yes” or “no” answer). History is made human—and therefore less dry—without being made entirely fictional.

It's an artful device, but after a while it becomes a trifle mechanical, just a gimmick for introducing the episode's public crisis. A more serious problem appear-

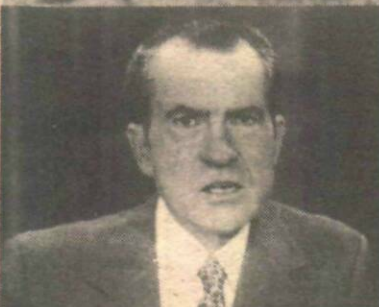
ed in the climax of the first show, when Raynor's best friend was shot down on a reconnaissance flight over Cuba. There's no historical basis for such an incident, which is apparently a combination of Gary Powers' U-2 flight and the Sams from Vietnam.

Such a lapse serves as a reminder of the tangled relationship between fact and fiction in historical drama. *Call to Glory* makes it seem as if television, through the Sarnac family, is offering America a chance to return to the '60s—and get it right this time. By demonstrating grace under pressure, the Sarnac family successfully navigates the obstacle course of life in the '60s. Yet there's something unreal about this historical replay, since whatever the family's fortunes, real history remains unchanged, and for all the obvious parallels with the present, the past remains



## TELEVISION

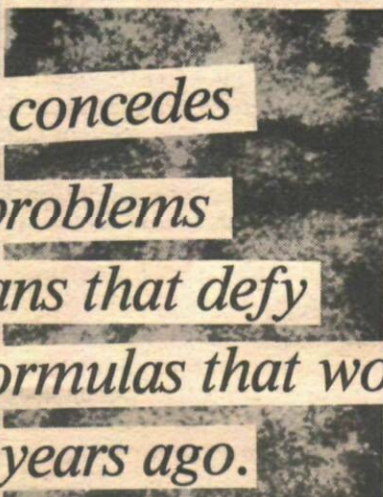
# patriotism



separate—even safe. Historical controversies about tests in the atmosphere or Martin Luther King as a civil rights leader anticipate but remain essentially less dangerous than such contemporary equivalents as the nuclear freeze movement or Jesse Jackson.

As the title suggests, the show is a glorification of military strength, with no traces of *M\*A\*S\*H*-like irreverence or the political satire of *The Right Stuff*. For instance, the Cuban missile crisis is presented as a suitable demonstration of the sort of firmness with the Russians that is absolutely necessary, now as then. One line from Kennedy's speech was featured twice: “Our goal is not the victory of might, but the vindication of right.” JFK's noble rhetoric is stripped bare by Gen. “Big Mike” Thornton's tough-guy talk, “No Bay of Pigs this time. We are not backing down.”

But usually the line taken is softer than that. *Call to Glory* glosses over the political issues by offering purely personal solutions, triumphs of plotting and piloting. Some of the best scenes have been those between the parents and the kids, and between husband and wife. The



series is shaping up as a celebration of “supportive” parents and spouses, working hard to keep communicating and maintain relationships. That sort of thing has become cheap currency lately, but in this case it's not to be sneered at, largely because the acting and direction are so strong.

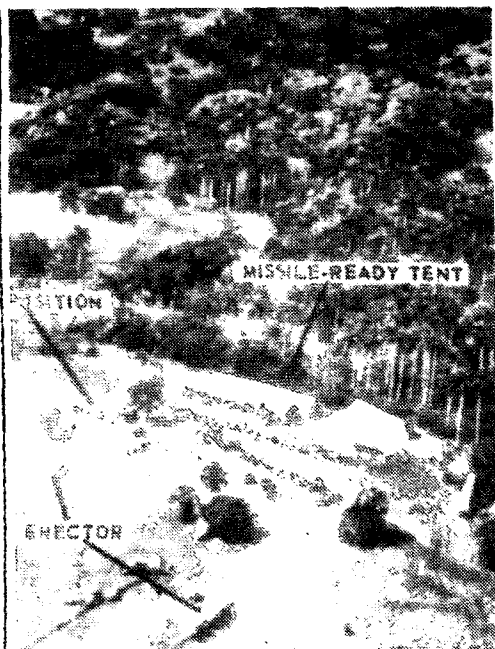
The first show closed with a funeral scene that probably brought out the handkerchiefs all over TV-land, especially when R.H. took his grieving father's hand and, breaking the silence, said, “I love you.” Following an announcement that the Russians are licked in Cuba, R.H. gives a John-John salute to the jets doing a fly-over for their downed comrade. Such a scene may not be overtly political, but, as in John Ford's films, the use of sympathetic characters and emotional ceremonies reinforces a particular vision of the world, including a specific set of political values.

What makes *Call to Glory*, like some of Ford's films, so interesting is that the values, though firmly held by admirable characters, emerge as less than triumphant. *Call to Glory* regards life as essentially tragic. Even if the Sarnac family leads a charmed existence, there is death and disappointment all around. The family and the military may provide havens in a heartless world, just as the past may provide a simpler, clearer model of the present, but in the end the emphasis on the need for refuge, or manageable situations, reflects darkly upon our present unsettled state.

Rob Silberman teaches film at the University of Minnesota and writes for *City Pages*, where another version of this story first appeared.

Call to  
Glory concedes  
the '80s pose problems  
for Americans that defy  
the formulas that worked  
20 years ago.





Continued from page 16

package labelled "the '60s." If you're in San Francisco smoking pot and dressing weird in 1963 you're a hippie, right? Wrong, you're a beatnik. *The Making of a Counter Culture and Love Story* are '60s books, right? Well, only sort of, published as they were in 1970.

Along with the trivia, the game asks the nontrivial question, Whose '60s Was It Anyway? I recently played the game with three generations of a neighbor family. Mom knew the price of the first mass-marketed birth control pill, while the teenager guessed the one about *Sesame Street*. Grandma couldn't even pronounce some of the rock groups, but she knew what Gen. Westmoreland had said and when. Dad got the questions about baseball right, and everybody but grandma knew anything about the Beatles, including each scabrous bit of "Paul is



dead" gossip we thought we'd forgotten. Ferreting out the answer was, as Fager would no doubt be happy to know, a group endeavor.

The game's trivia triggers are headlines and pop cultural commodities, which

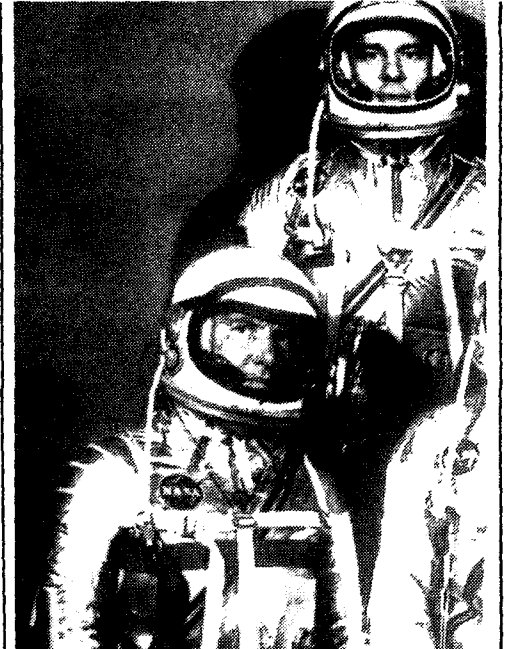


leave it hovering on the surface of young white people's consciousness at the time. Black people, for instance — COINTELPRO (whose first target was black militants) and Freedom Riders are mentioned, but below the surface of head-lines-for-white-people, there ain't much. Community organizing, native American, labor and women's movements are almost invisible, too, not to mention those for whom the price of bulk brown rice was more topical than the price of a joint.

But who would expect a board game to replicate life, anyway? Only the Pentagoners, who seem to experience life as a board game. Now it appears even their perspective is being retailed, in a war game sold at hobby stores called "Vietnam 1965-1975." The people who play it probably recognize all the battlefields to which you can be sent on an unlucky roll of the dice in Sixtomania.

Answers: 1962, 450; April 7, 1971; Ronald Reagan; tobacco; Subterranean Homesick Blues; Chrysler, with "The Dodge Rebellion Wants You." Game order address: Kimo Press, P.O. Box 1361, Falls Church, VA 22041, \$12.95. ■

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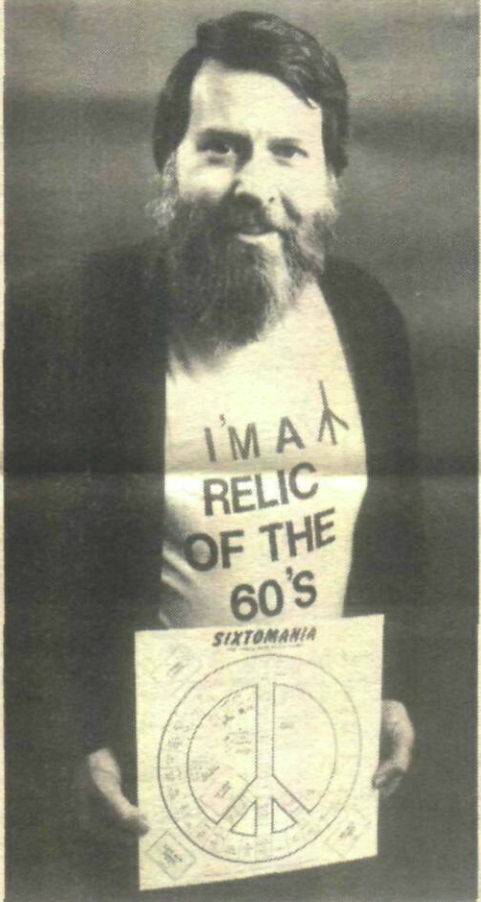
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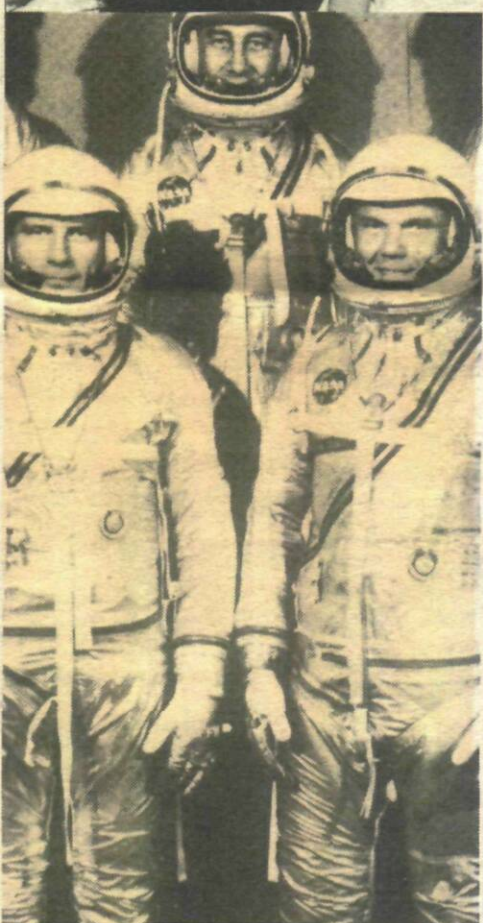
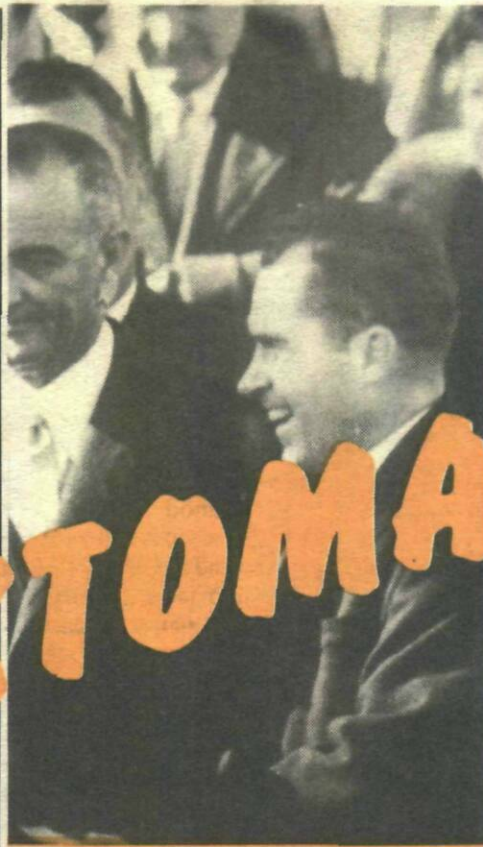
By Pat Aufderheide

**F**OR EVERY EXPERIENCE, there's a commodity—it's the American way. You can now buy "the '60s" in downscale and upscale, yuppie and hippie, versions. You can even get it in board games. I'll be it's the same kind of '60s people as made *The Big Chill* who designed Trivial Pursuits, an aggressively competitive way to be upscale in your spare time.

The last time I was in target range of this board game was in a living room occupied by a VCR, several kinds of cheese (none of them goat), the best work of several regional vineyards, five corporate lawyers and a consultant. They loved it; I took the Samuel Johnson Memorial Way Out ("There are two kinds of knowledge; you can know it, or you can know where to look it up") and retired to the library. Now there's a Trivial Pursuits spinoff called Baby Boomer, too.

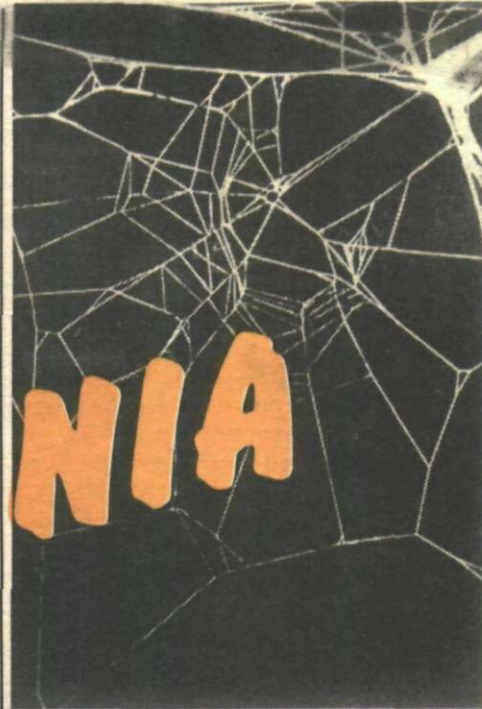
But there's also Sixtomania, a board game for another kind of '60s person. Designed by a quirky Quaker, freelance writer Chuck Fager, and assembled by the Fager family in their suburban basement, it looks as authentically home-crafted as you might expect. Upscale it's not.

Winning is not at issue in Sixtomania, even though you can play to win. Just roll the dice and move your counter the ap-

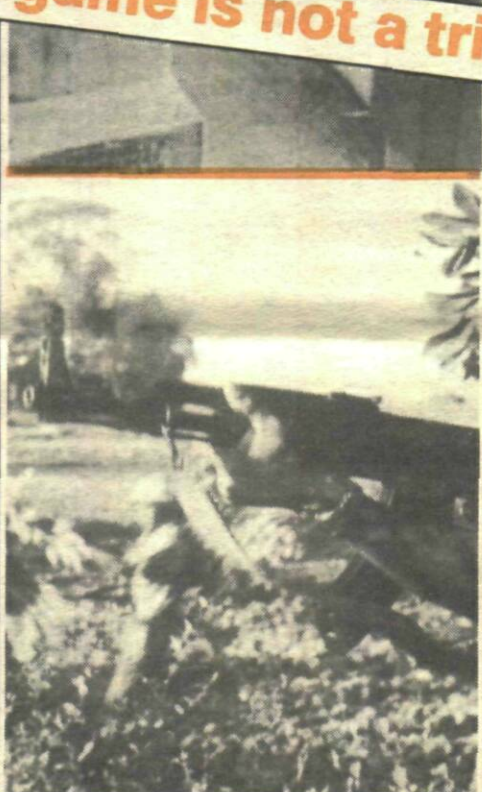
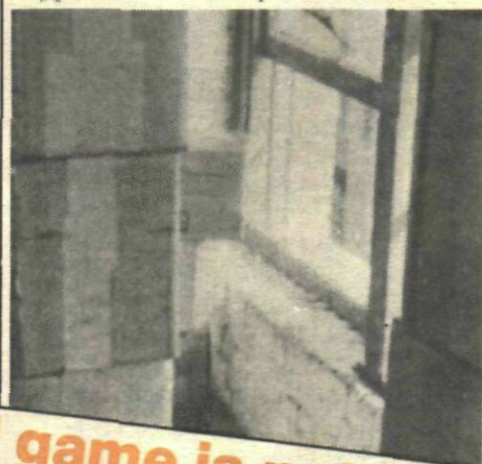


propriate number of spaces on the board. Then pick a card from the pile the space indicates. Usually you draw from the trivia question pile, which allows you an extra space if you guess right. Sometimes, though, it's a "Karma card," which will send you elsewhere on the board or into limbos like the Free Clinic or the Establishment for several turns, or perhaps to hell, a.k.a. Vietnam. It is very difficult to get out of Vietnam, the vertical bar in the peace-symbol shaped route on the board.

Still, the point of the game is not victory. You can tell Fager has a casual attitude toward competition from the answer sheet for the trivia questions. The answers are sometimes incomplete (especially if they would involve paying copyright fees) and sometimes dismissive (well, whatever *did* happen to Richard Beymer, star of *West Side Story*? Fager



Typical bashish-inspired net.

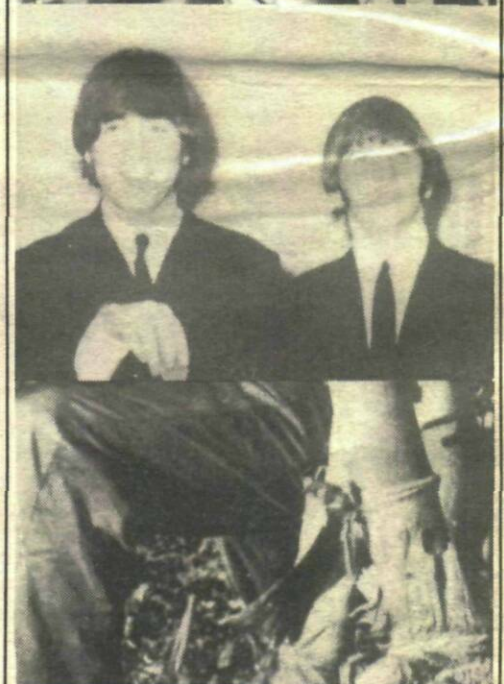
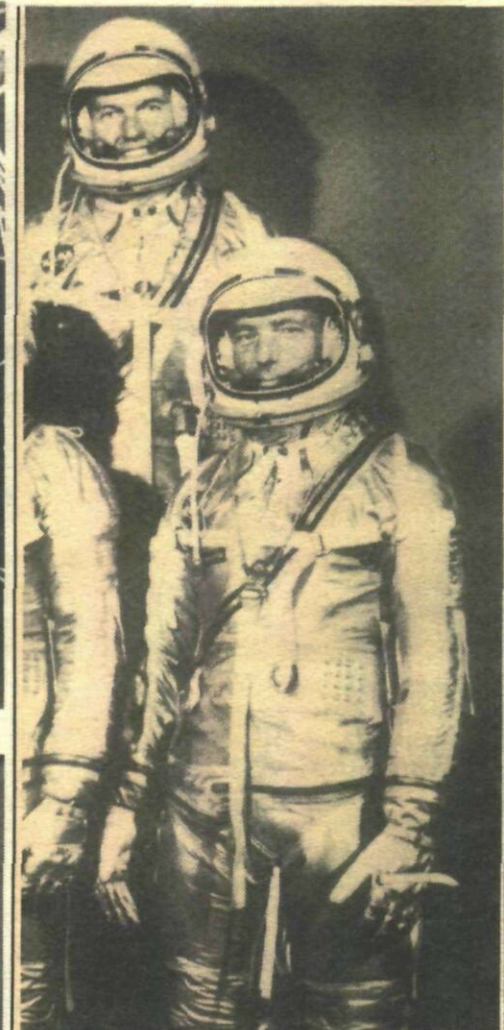
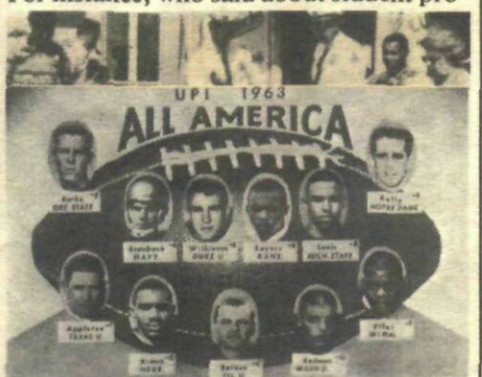


doesn't know and doesn't care). Players are encouraged to settle any ambiguities in the rules by "participatory democracy. After all, it worked in the '60s. Didn't it?"

The questions are designed more to trigger memories than to test recall. The most pointed ones—and the commonest—have to do with the Vietnam war and protest. Test yourself (check the end of the article for answers):

- In what year did Gen. Thomas Harkins, U.S. commander in Vietnam, say the war would be "over by Christmas"?
- About how many U.S. colleges went on strike or closed down after the Kent State killings and the Cambodia invasion? (The question does not mention Jackson State.)
- When did Richard Nixon go on TV to announce, "Tonight I can report to you that Vietnamization has succeeded"?

Other questions have a topical twist. For instance, who said about student pro-



tests in April 1970, "If it takes a bloodbath, let's get it over with?"

Other questions serve as ungentle reminders that the current administration has no corner on callousness. "In 1966, with famine stalking India, North Carolina Congressman Harold Cooley wins approval of a plan to send millions of pounds of a surplus U.S. agricultural commodity to the starving millions. Name this commodity." I hope you're shocked by the answer, even though we are standing in the backwash of '70s cynicism.

This game brings you back to two areas of '60s public life: politics (mostly about civil rights and the war) and the media, especially in its more grotesque pop cultural aspects. Some of them testify to the fact that politics and media were at that time overlapping sets (not yet have approached the brink of collapsed categories).

- "The Weathermen took their name from a Bob Dylan song—which one?"
- "In 1966, which major automaker tried to cash in on youth and civil rights protests in its new model ad campaign?"

Sixtomania also cannily unpacks the different eras stashed away in the media

Continued on page 15